

LE DUAN



ON THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM

VOLUME I

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CONTENTS

Leninism and Vietnam's revolution	9
Reassessment of the leadership of the Vietnamese proletariat	57
Revolution is the work of the masses.....	85
Notes	105

LENINISM AND VIETNAM'S REVOLUTION *

Dear Comrades,

With all our earnest respectfulness and profound gratitude, we are commemorating today great Lenin's 90th birthday anniversary.

Like Marx and Engels, Lenin is our respected and beloved leader and teacher, a star leading us to our great cause: the liberation of oppressed mankind.

Lenin is no more, but his name and work live for ever. His name has become a symbol of the Communist ideal, a symbol of the interests and aspirations of the working class, the toiling masses and the oppressed peoples all over the world. Hundreds of millions of oppressed labourers regardless of colour and nationality all over the five continents are marching with confidence under the glorious Marxist-Leninist banner resolute to wipe out the exploitation of man by man, the enslavement and oppression of nations, and to build an equitable, just and happy society.

* Speech delivered at a meeting for the commemoration of Lenin's 90th birthday anniversary (April 20, 1960).

Lenin's name has been very dear to our Vietnamese people since long. Leninism has blazed the road of our liberation, and helped our national revolution triumph gloriously and is helping us score greater successes in the future. For these past thirty years, it has been a great honour and pride for the communist fighters of our country to be named Marxist-Leninists combating under the banner of great Marxism-Leninism.

To commemorate Lenin's birthday anniversary efficiently, to remember and show our gratitude to Lenin, there is no better way than to endeavour to study and assimilate his great ideas for their correct and creative application to the realities of our national revolution, and strive hard to take our national revolution to the road he has outlined.

Dear Comrades,

The theoretical treasury contributed by Lenin to world revolution is immensely rich and comprehensive. In this commemoration, allow us to recall briefly some points of Lenin's great contribution to world revolution, especially to Vietnam's revolution.

Leninism is the continuance and development of Marxism, it is Marxism in the era of capitalism and proletarian revolution, an era of building socialism and communism in the Soviet Union, an era of birth

of the socialist system and its development into a world system, an era of transition of human society from capitalism to communism.

Being the most loyal and brilliant disciple of Marx and Engels, Lenin not only defended the revolutionary spirit of Marxism against all opportunist distortions, but also knew how to base himself on new historical conditions for the further development of Marxism.

As is known, Marx and Engels lived in the era of capitalist development, in which the contradictions of the capitalist society arose and the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie became the main struggle in society. Marx and Engels' great contribution is their profound and all-round study of the laws of capitalism, whereby clearly to show that capitalism is doomed and socialism will win final victory. Marx and Engels showed that the historical mission of the proletariat is that they are the grave-diggers of capitalism, and the builders of a new society, the communist society. To achieve this historical mission, the proletariat must have its own vanguard political party, go through a proletarian revolution and set up a dictatorship of the proletariat.

But in the period when Marx and Engels lived and worked, the objective conditions were not yet matured for the proletarian revolution to break out directly. Therefore throughout their lifetime, they devoted all their efforts to make a propaganda among the working class and awaken their consciousness, expose and thwart all reactionary theories within the workers' movement, organize various Internationals of the

working class, and prepare for the revolution of the working class to overthrow capitalism. After Marx and Engels had died, the opportunist leaders who ruled the roost in the Second International distorted the militant and revolutionary essence of Marxism, propagated reformism and the theory of class conciliation, thus deflecting the workers' movement in the road of compromise with the bourgeoisie.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, capitalism developed into imperialism, and monopoly replaced free competition. To make maximum profits, the monopolists not only increased exploitation of the workers and toiling masses in their own countries, but also stepped up colonial conquests and exported capital, thus transforming the weak and backward countries into suppliers of cheap raw materials and outlets for their surplus goods. The monopolist companies of the imperialist countries completed the division of the world and did not cease to expand their sphere of influence at the expense of their likes, therefore periodical imperialistic wars broke out, driving mankind to abominable slaughters.

Imperialism has set the peoples of the world before two roads: either to endure the domination and exploitation by imperialism, and hence to be annihilated, or to rise up and overthrow imperialism, and take human society to socialism and communism.

History urgently needed that Marxism be developed further ably to lead the revolutionary struggle of the

working class, the toiling people and various oppressed nations over the world to free themselves from oppression and exploitation by capitalism and imperialism, and to take the road of socialism.

Lenin lived and worked in that period. His great contribution is that he could realize and satisfy the urgent need of history. On the basis of Marx's and Engels' genial theories, and the laws of development of capitalism in its latest stage, which Lenin put to the test of practice, he refuted all opportunist theories, protected the purity of Marxism, and enriched it with new theories.

1. Lenin's first important contribution is his theory on imperialism and proletarian revolution in the imperialistic era.

Lenin studied profoundly and all-sidedly the characteristics and laws of imperialism, asserting that imperialism is "the highest stage of development of capitalism and at the same time its latest stage". In this stage, the contradictions of the capitalist society were sharpened to the highest degree. The outcome of the development of these sharp contradictions is that the movement of struggle of the working class and the toiling people in various imperialist countries as well as the movement of liberation in various colonies and dependent countries rose buoyantly as never seen before and formed a powerful revolutionary wave which shook imperialism to the root. On the other hand, the contradictions between the imperialists themselves reached such a high degree that an imperialistic war broke out, sharpening further other

contradictions and driving imperialism into a serious general crisis. In these conditions Lenin asserted that "imperialism is moribund capitalism, the eve of proletarian revolution".

Proceeding from the study of the characteristics and nature of imperialism, Lenin set forth a *new theory on socialist revolution*. Previously Marx and Engels said that to come out victorious, the proletarian revolution should break out simultaneously in all advanced capitalist countries or at least in most of those countries and that if it broke out in one country only, it would be doomed to failure. Marx's and Engels' conclusion fitted in the situation in which capitalism has not yet become imperialism, but now that conclusion did not hold good. Lenin showed that imperialism has become a world system, a force to oppress colonies and financially to enslave the whole world, of a handful of advanced countries at the expense of the majority of people over the world. Today the contradictions and decline of imperialism are shown not only in an individual country but throughout the world, therefore according to Lenin, "socialist revolution will be not only and chiefly a struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in each country, but it will be also a struggle waged by all colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, and by all dependent countries against international imperialism". The conditions for the proletarian revolution to break out in the imperialistic era have matured throughout the world. Lenin discovered the law of uneven development in the economic and political fields of the imperialist countries. This is an

absolute law, therefore the contradictions between the imperialist countries never come to an end, and their struggle to seize one another's interests are becoming fiercer. The proletariat can take advantage of these contradictions to defeat imperialism at one place or another. It is also due to the uneven economic and political development of imperialism that the conditions for the revolution to win successes in various imperialist countries are not the same.

Therefore proletarian revolution will not necessarily break out simultaneously in all advanced capitalist countries and where the proletariat accounts for the majority of the population, but it will break out in a place where the contradictions of imperialism are concentrated, at the weakest link in the imperialistic chain, it can break out and win success first in a particular country.

Lenin's new revolutionary theory as mentioned above has an immensely great significance. It has shown a completely new vista to the proletariat and people of each country in the world who instead of passively waiting for the breaking out of world revolution, actively develop their initiative and create conditions for a direct attack on imperialism in their own country.

At the same time Lenin also worked out a *policy to ensure victory for the proletarian revolution*. The gist of this policy is the guarantee of the *absolute and indivisible leadership of the proletariat in the revolution*. The key point to carry out the leadership of the proletariat is that this class must have a numerically great ally who accepts this leadership, this ally is the

peasantry. In contradiction to the opportunists who denied the great revolutionary possibilities of the peasantry, Lenin said that without a firm *worker-peasant alliance*, there would be no victory for the proletarian revolution. To win over the peasants and make them follow the proletarian revolution, the proletariat must support the movement of struggle of the peasants against feudalism and capitalist oppression and exploitation in the countryside.

Besides consolidating the alliance with the peasantry, the proletariat has to consolidate the *alliance between various nationalities*. The opportunists of the Second International restricted the national question only within the framework of the civilized European countries, whereas Lenin broadened the national question into a problem of national liberation from imperialist oppression in colonies and dependent countries. The national question has become part and parcel of world proletarian revolution. Lenin was the first to bring to the fore the right of nations to self-determination, advocating complete "equality of nations", full right of nations to self-determination, and right to union as well as to secession. The proletariat has the duty to support the anti-imperialist struggles for national liberation. Only by supporting and allying with the national-liberation movement can the proletarian revolution win successes, on the contrary, it will not come out successful if it is not supported by the world proletariat.

Lenin's new revolutionary theory and policy proved entirely correct by the victorious Russian October Revolution which opened up a new era for mankind:

the era of disintegration of capitalism and victory of socialism. The triumph of the Russian October Revolution has awakened the working class, the toiling people and oppressed nations over the world, urging them to rise up and make revolution. It also further sharpened the general crisis of imperialism and weakened the imperialistic system.

During and after World War II, under the leadership of the communist parties and in the light of Lenin's revolutionary theory, a series of people's democratic countries in Europe and Asia, including Vietnam, have broken the imperialistic chain at its weakest links. The founding of the socialist system has eloquently proved the scientific and accurate character of Lenin's revolutionary theory.

Today the world situation has undergone basic changes compared with the period when Lenin lived. Socialism has become a world system and has shown itself more powerful than capitalism. For the world's people the supremacy of the socialist regime has been ever more clearly felt and has an ever greater attraction. The great ideology of communism has taken deep roots into the hearts and brains of hundreds of millions of labourers over the world. Meanwhile imperialism has weakened with every passing day. The colonial system has disintegrated bloc after bloc and the national-liberation movement has won continuous successes. The imperialistic general crisis has become more serious than ever.

In consideration of the basic changes in the balance of forces in the world at present, the Declaration of the Meeting of the representatives of 12 communist

and workers' parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow in 1957 has continued to develop creatively Lenin's revolutionary theory. The theses on the fundamental contents of our era, on the possibilities of safeguarding world peace, on the lines of consolidating and strengthening the forces of the world socialist system, reinforcing the solidarity of the international communist movement against bellicose U.S.-led imperialism, to conquer peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, etc., have enriched Lenin's theoretical treasury.

2. *Another important contribution by Lenin was his theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and on socialist construction.*

Lenin pointed out that the victory of the proletarian revolution must necessarily lead to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the transition from capitalism to socialism. Marx said, "Between the capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period of which the State can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat".

Lenin shattered to smithereens all opportunist ideas distorting Marx's viewpoint on the problem of State, and pointed out that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the most essential point in Marx's theories, the essence of Marxism. To accept or refute the dictatorship of the proletariat is a cornerstone to distinguish between genuine revolutionaries and opportunists. The

dictatorship of the proletariat is not only necessary to suppress the resistance of the overthrown exploiting class and the offensive of the imperialists from without, but is still more important to *mobilize and organize the toiling masses to take part in the building of economy and development of culture. It is the main tool in the hand of the proletariat and toiling people to transform the old society and build a new society.*

Lenin emphasized that the dictatorship of the proletariat means the leadership of a class, of the proletariat over the State power in which not only one single class but the vast majority of people take part against the oppressing and exploiting minority. It is a particular form of class alliance between the proletariat and other strata of toiling people. The worker-peasant alliance is the basis, the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time the dictatorship of the proletariat is the highest and broadest democratic form in a class society, a democracy of the vast majority of the toiling people. Only under the dictatorship of the proletariat can the working class and the toiling people really take part in great numbers in the management of the State, and bring into full play their positive and creative spirit.

Lenin also pointed out that in the period of transition, there can be varied forms of State power but in essence they are all dictatorship of the proletariat. Today, besides the soviet form practised in the Soviet Union, the people's democratic power in the European

and Asian socialist countries is successfully fulfilling the tasks and functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As has been proved by experiences and clearly shown by historical realities, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition is a task of paramount importance. Now as in the past, the revisionists especially spearhead their opposition at the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat while they attack Marxism-Leninism. Their scheme was to deprive us of our sharp weapon in order easily to defeat us. In commemorating Lenin's birthday, we must determinedly and unswervingly maintain his theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, do our utmost to consolidate the State power during the period of transition, and resolutely oppose all revisionist arguments.

Lenin taught us that with the victory of the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, revolution has not come to an end but has only begun. We still have to take in hand a new heavy and much more complicate task which is to rebuild the whole of social life in line with completely new principles.

The period of transition from capitalism to socialism is a historical period in which takes place the sharp struggle "Who will win" between defeated capitalism which is not yet destroyed and newly-born socialism which is not yet consolidated. To come out victorious in this struggle, in the political field, the leading role of the proletariat must be maintained through its party, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the

worker-peasant alliance, the solidarity between nationalities, and international solidarity must be consolidated. On the other hand, a new economy, a socialist economy, must be built on the foundation of a modern technique to serve as a material basis of the new society.

To fulfil this task, we must transform the capitalist ownership and the small producers' ownership into national and collective ownership, harmoniously and rhythmically develop national economy according to plans, build and transform the whole national economy on the basis of a new technique, unceasingly raise labour productivity, most satisfactorily meet the ever growing material and cultural needs of society.

To reach this goal in a country whose industry is undeveloped, and agriculture predominantly individual and backward, there is no other way than to carry out *national industrialization whose key-work is priority development of heavy industry with engineering as a central task*. Lenin pointed out, "The material basis of socialism can be only a large-scale mechanized industry which can transform agriculture as a whole".

Besides, to carry out industrialization we must have capital and cadres. Therefore we must carry out socialist accumulation, intensify production and practise thrift, oppose embezzlement and waste. We must rely on the working class, bring into full play their revolutionary ardour, their spirit of being masters, raise their cultural, technical, and managerial levels, choose and promote from among the workers' rank the outstanding cadres to leading positions in State and economic organs.

Lenin also resolved a very difficult task of the proletarian revolution which is to shift the widely scattered private economy of small producers (peasants and handicraftsmen) to socialism, thereby uprooting the ultimate cause which gives birth to capitalism. We cannot expropriate the peasants from their means of production as we do with the capitalists. Lenin said that such a measure is a crime, an idiocy likely to bring socialist revolution and socialist construction to failure. Only with a close alliance with the peasants can socialism win success. But meanwhile, we must find out the most adequate form, take into due account the characteristics of their private ownership, integrate individual and collective interests with those of the State, find out a form most acceptable to the peasants. According to Lenin this form is the co-operatives which include farming teams, consumers' co-operatives, credit co-operatives, producers' co-operatives, and collective farms. Lenin laid particular emphasis on voluntariness, absolutely forbade orders and compulsion with regard to the peasants; on the contrary we must persistently persuade and educate them, wait for their awareness, make them realize the advantages of collective work so that they may voluntarily and consciously embark in co-operativization.

Lenin also pointed out that the taking of the peasants to co-operativization is but the first step in the socialist transformation of agriculture. Another step which must be taken is to change a backward agriculture into an agriculture of large-scale production on the basis of mechanization and electrification.

Only in this way can socialism stand firmly on two feet: modern industry and modern agriculture.

Along with socialist industrialization and transformation of agriculture, Lenin also advocated cultural revolution. Socialist revolution being the work of the broad masses, we must unceasingly raise their consciousness, resolutely struggle against old ideas and habits if we want to bring into full play their revolutionary ardour and creativeness. On the other hand, in socialist construction, it is not sufficient to rely on revolutionary ardour, but scientific and technical knowledge is also necessary, therefore we must raise the cultural, scientific and technical level of the people, create an army of intellectuals of the working class. This is part and parcel of socialist revolution.

Lenin's theory on socialist industrialization, socialist transformation of agriculture, and cultural revolution is important component part of the general line for socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has resolutely followed the road traced by Lenin, rejected all opportunist theories and tendencies of the Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kameniev Piatakov, Bukharin cliques, etc. Consequently, within a short historical period, it has succeeded in completing socialist construction.

Today Lenin's theory, applied creatively by the socialist countries to their own economic transformation and development and cultural development, has been developed further in the practice of socialist construction in these countries. In summing up the experience of the world revolutionary movement

during the past hundred years, especially since the October Revolution, the Moscow Meeting of the communist parties and workers' parties in October 1957, has pointed out the universal law governing the socialist revolution and socialist construction for all countries. The statement of the Meeting has illustrated the creative development of Marxism-Leninism in our era. At present it is a general programme of the communist parties and workers' parties over the world.

3. The successes of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialist construction would not have been possible but for the leadership of a new-type revolutionary party. Therefore, one of Lenin's very important contributions is his *perfect theory on the founding of a new-type party of the working class*.

The leaders of the Second International deflected their social democratic parties to reformism. These parties were only tools helping them fight over seats in bourgeois parliaments.

In the imperialist era when the task of direct revolutionary struggle was laid down, Lenin pointed out as an essential task, the establishment of a new-type political party. Such a party is the vanguard, the organized army, the highest organizational form of the proletariat. The Party must include the most advanced, most loyal, most resolute in making sacrifices, and most conscious elements among the working class and the toiling people. Right from the beginning when striving to set up the Party, Lenin

laid emphasis on the necessity of raising further and unceasingly the qualification of a communist party member. He upheld that to become such a member, a man must not only recognize the programme and rules of the Party, but must also practically work in one of its grass-root organs and submit to the control of the Party. What Lenin pointed out is at present an important condition in the building of all communist parties throughout the world.

The Party outlined by Lenin is a monolithic bloc in ideology and action. Ideologically it must adhere to the Marxist-Leninist theory, regarding the revolutionary struggle for the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat as its basic task, and must consider the realization of socialism and communism as its ultimate goal. The identity in ideology must be guaranteed by the unity in organization. Sectarianism and peaceful coexistence with the opportunists are not allowed in the party and must be done with. The party must be organized tightly in line with the principle of democratic centralism and strict discipline, and fight against the empirical and paternalistic style of work. It must take centralized leadership as the highest principle of leadership.

Such a party must keep close relation with the masses, stick to them and deeply understand their aspirations and needs which it must succeed in reflecting in its programme and slogans of struggle. It must not leave the masses far behind, or lag behind them, but has to educate them and lead them forward. It must know how to educate its members and the masses by the experience drawn from the practical

revolutionary struggle, and therefore it must have a revolutionary attitude towards its own achievements and shortcomings and must be sincere in self-criticism and criticism. Lenin regarded the party's attitude towards its mistakes as an important criterion to gauge its loyalty to the revolutionary cause and the masses.

The Russian Bolshevik Party directly built by Lenin, a new-type revolutionary political party, the first of its kind in the world, is the prototype of a militant revolutionary party of Leninist type. It stood the test of three big revolutions in Russia, two imperialist world wars and two wars for national salvation, has led the great October Revolution to triumph, successfully completed the building of socialism.

Lenin made a great contribution to the founding of the Third International, the genuinely revolutionary international of the world working class. Under the leadership of the Communist International, all the communist branches in other countries were established in line with the principle outlined by Lenin for party building. At present in the world 85 communist parties and workers' parties including 33 million members are leading the revolutionary struggle put up by the peoples of various countries.

The leading role of the Party is important not only in the revolutionary struggle for power, but it is still more so during the dictatorship of the proletariat and communist construction. All manoeuvres to belittle and weaken the leading role of the Party are erroneous and harmful to the revolution.

In commemorating Lenin, we must always remember his teaching, unceasingly reinforce the Party leadership in all fields, firmly maintain the vanguard, revolutionary and militant characters of a Leninist party.

II

Dear Comrades,

Lenin made infinitely great contributions to the revolution for the liberation of Eastern peoples, including Vietnam. He attached great importance to the role played by Eastern peoples in deciding on the fate of world imperialism and drew up many directives pointing out to oppressed Eastern peoples the road to follow in their revolutionary struggle.

In addressing the Congress of the representatives of various communist organizations in the East in 1919, Lenin said, "Here is a task which was not put forth for the international communists but is now put forth for you; it is that in basing yourselves on the theories and universal practice of communism, you must accommodate yourselves to the peculiar characteristics and conditions which do not exist in European countries, at the same time you must apply the communist theories and practice to a place where the masses consist mainly of peasants, and the struggle is no longer against capitalism but against the survivals of the Middle Ages".

Lenin also taught that before reaching socialist revolution, the revolution in Eastern colonies must go

through the national-liberation revolution, and bourgeois democratic revolution. It cannot bypass necessary stages. In the imperialistic era, it must be a far-reaching people's revolution and not a revolution of an upper minority.

On the peasant question, Lenin said, "Utopians are those who hold that the proletarian party can implement its line of action, tactics and communist policies in backward countries without the establishment of a determined relation with the peasant movement and without an active assistance given to it".

With regard to the bourgeoisie, Lenin pointed out that distinction should be made between the bourgeoisie in imperialist countries and that in colonies. In colonies, "the bourgeoisie still sides with the people against the reactionary forces", therefore a front must be set up with the participation of the democratic wing of the bourgeoisie (that is to say the national bourgeois). In the building of the united front with the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must maintain its independent character and struggle against the bourgeois' scheme for seizing the leadership.

Lenin also pointed out that besides the people's unity within the countries, colonial revolution will be successful only by maintaining solidarity with the world proletariat, and obtaining the support and assistance of the proletariat in metropolitan countries. He said, "You must work out a line for the exploited toiling masses in each country to follow, and explain it in such a way that they may realize that the only thing they long for and which will help them liberate

themselves, is the victory of world revolution, and that the world proletariat is the only ally of hundreds of millions of exploited toiling people of the Eastern nations".

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The foregoing valuable directives given by Lenin with regard to Eastern revolution, are at the same time directives having the character of a guiding programme with regard to the Vietnamese revolution.

President Ho Chi Minh has said, "With regard to the Vietnamese revolution and Vietnamese people, Leninism is not only a valuable 'vade-mecum' and a compass, but it is also the sun which lightens the road for us to go to final victory, to socialism and communism".

We all know that during the many decades of French domination, our people had many times risen heroically against invasion; when the older generation fell, it was immediately succeeded by the younger one; but if all the revolutions in former times failed, it was mainly because they were not enlightened by an accurate theory and not guided by a vanguard party. The gunshots of the October Revolution awakened the Eastern peoples, at the same time they introduced Leninism to us. Our venerable and beloved comrade Ho Chi Minh is the first Vietnamese to accept Leninism and propagate it in our country. Comrade Ho Chi Minh, Lenin's most outstanding disciple in our country, has thoroughly grasped the revolutionary

Marxist-Leninist theory, particularly the *theory concerning the national revolution in colonies*, and has applied it creatively to the conditions of our country.

In 1930 the advanced revolutionaries of the Vietnamese proletariat, headed by comrade Ho Chi Minh, founded a party of a new type: the Indo-Chinese Communist Party. In the very first days of its inception, it clearly affirmed that it was the Party of the proletariat guided by Marxism-Leninism. It knew how to base itself on the universal Marxist-Leninist principles in coordination with Vietnam's characteristics to work out a correct revolutionary programme. It realized that the Vietnamese society was that of a semi-feudal colony and its two basic contradictions were the contradiction between the Vietnamese people and aggressive imperialism, and the contradiction between the people, mainly peasants, and feudalism. Of these two contradictions, the principal one at which the Vietnamese revolution had to spearhead its forces for a solution, was the contradiction between the Vietnamese people consisting of an absolute majority of peasants, and the imperialists and those feudal landlords who were their henchmen. It was the first time a Party in Vietnam pointed out in accordance with Lenin's directives and loyal to the Leninist line, that the national-liberation revolution must be closely linked with the revolution for the liberation of classes and must have a clear class content and character. The attitudes of various classes towards national revolution are not the same. To gain victory, the Vietnamese revolution must rely on the most revolutionary classes and must be guided by a vanguard

class. In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, when socialism has been successful over one sixth of the world, the anti-imperialist revolution waged by the Vietnamese people has become part and parcel of the world proletarian revolution. In these historical conditions, it was possible for the Vietnamese proletariat, to lead the national revolution. The Vietnamese proletariat, though small in number, is however part of the great international proletariat, thus having all the objective historical conditions of a most advanced revolutionary class. The Vietnamese proletariat is the only class that has an accurate scientific theory on the national-liberation revolution in line with Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, only under the leadership of the Vietnamese proletariat can Vietnam's revolution gain complete victory.

Thanks to its Marxist-Leninist class standpoint and viewpoint, our Party was able correctly to assess the role of the peasants in the national-liberation revolution. In a colonial country like ours, the peasants account for the vast majority of the population. They were the first victims of colonial exploitation by imperialism and were driven to continuous bankruptcy and to the brink of death. Therefore they had a deep hatred for imperialism and were the main forces in the national-liberation revolution. Without the participation of the majority of peasants, the anti-imperialist revolution in colonies can achieve no success whatever.

Lenin taught us that with regard to colonial peoples, the basic question is the peasant question and that the revolution in colonies is in substance the peasant

revolution. As the peasants in colonies are not only victims of imperialist oppression, but also pitilessly exploited by feudalism and landlordism in collusion with imperialism, their dearest aspirations are national independence and land to the tillers that is the overthrow of both imperialism and feudalism-landlordism.

Therefore, to lead the peasants, not only has the proletariat to call for their patriotism against aggressive imperialism, but it also has to stir their class consciousness and make them realize clearly that imperialism and feudalism collude with each other to oppress and exploit them, and that only a strong alliance with the proletariat under the latter's leadership can help them bring about national liberation and win back land for the tillers.

In making the peasants conscious of the needs of revolution, the proletariat has to instill revolutionary ideas not only into advanced peasants, but also into middle-of-the-road and backward ones. It must fight back every line of compromise, reformism and "mutual good feelings" put forth by the bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements among the peasants. It must free the peasants from the influence of these dangerous lines. Only by crushing the compromise and reformist lines can the proletariat be sure of winning over the peasants as a whole, and its leadership be secured in the worker-peasant alliance.

For this very reason, the Party has fought against the viewpoint of the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie

(including the Vietnam Nationalist Party) which held that the main forces of Vietnam's revolution lay in all classes, that the leadership of the Vietnamese revolution must be assumed by the most outstanding figures of all classes; that to make a class discrimination was to commit a crime, to divide the nation and to harm revolution. But the substance of the question was that they wanted to conceal or they were unable to realize that though born Vietnamese, feudalism and landlordism in collusion with imperialism were, together with foreign invaders, exploiting the peasants ruthlessly. The peasants felt hatred for both the imperialist invaders who exploited them, and the feudal landlords who daily sucked their blood. Suppose for the sake of the great national cause, the revolution called on the landlords, not to exploit the peasants and unite with them for national salvation, would feudalism and landlordism have responded to the appeal? Certainly not. This has been proved by the practice of the revolutionary movement in Vietnam.

In this way there remained only one alternative which was either to protect the landlords' interests and abandon the peasants, or to struggle for the peasants' interests and abandon landlordism. Petty-bourgeois revolutionaries and patriots belonging to upper strata were against the proletarian viewpoint and had for all practical purposes sided with the landlords and abandoned the peasants. Hence, notwithstanding the fine words they used to appeal to the peasants' patriotism and the unity of the entire people, the absolute majority of the Vietnamese peasants did not respond to their appeal. This was the cause of the

bitter bankruptcy suffered by the movement for national liberation waged by the Vietnam Nationalist Party.

On the contrary, our Party, following the Leninist scientific class viewpoint, realized that the revolutionary forces of the national-liberation movement must rely on determined classes. It fought back the viewpoint advocating the amalgamation of classes in Vietnamese society, and liberated the peasants from the influence of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois revolutionaries. Thanks to this, in the years 1930-1931, 1936-1940, 1941-1945, it succeeded in agitating a revolutionary high tide in which the main forces were the peasants, thereby bringing the August Revolution to success and the Resistance War and land reform to victory.

But on the other hand, while concentrating its main forces against the ideas of class amalgamation put forth by the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, our Party has always realized that the petty bourgeoisie is a revolutionary force, and the national bourgeoisie has its good side, which is patriotism and anti-imperialism, therefore the proletariat must establish a united front with them. Moreover, the Party had also to make the best use of the temporary contradictions between landlordism and imperialism which existed in determined historic conditions, in order to enlarge the anti-imperialist national united front, like in the years 1936-1940 and 1941-1945.

Our Party guided the workers and peasants to establish a national united front with the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie and, in determined conditions,

with a small section of landlords. In this way, in remaining firm on the class standpoint, our Party correctly assessed and highlighted the national factors and patriotic spirit of other sections of the people in colonies against imperialism, according to Lenin's teachings.

In enlarging the national united front in the years 1939-1945 and conducting the Resistance War, our Party was consistent in its class viewpoint, and thereby succeeded in working out correct policies and tactics with regard to the peasants. As a result, it could mobilize the peasants to take part in the anti-imperialist struggle and at the same time foster their forces, thereby it was able to lead the August Revolution to success and the long-term Resistance War to victory.

Besides uniting the various revolutionary forces in a colony, the revolution there must co-ordinate its action with the world revolution. Our Party has known how to avail itself of good opportunities to boost the Vietnamese revolution, and timely guided the entire people to rise up in Autumn 1945 when the world revolutionary movement was creating favourable conditions for the success of the national-liberation movement in Vietnam.

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Lenin's theory on *organizational forms and methods of struggle* is also of great practical significance with regard to Vietnam's revolution.

Abiding by Marxism-Leninism, our Party has known according to the ebb or high tide of the movement, how to apply legal, semi-legal or illegal organizational forms, in order to maintain and develop it. For example, following the years of illegal activities to the years 1936-1939, our Party knew how to take advantage of legal organizational forms to struggle, even to utilize the "colonial Parliament" to develop the sphere of the Party's influence among the masses, educate and guide them to struggle.

But the Party's objective was to lead the masses to overthrow the imperialist-feudal power, set up the people's democratic power, and to go forward to socialism. In a colony such as our country, where the imperialists resorted to violence for their domination, our people had no other road than to carry out an armed insurrection and utilize revolutionary force to cope with the counter-revolutionary force.

Ours is an agricultural country, the peasants are the main forces of the revolution, hence our Party put forth the question of armed insurrection to seize power on the basis of the peasant question, and the question of reliance on the peasants, shifting the central task to the countryside in the years 1940-1941, organizing peasant armed forces, building resistance bases and launching local guerilla warfare between 1941 and 1945. In Autumn 1945, when favourable conditions were available our Party timely started the nation-wide insurrection, in the countryside as well as in towns, by relying on the political force of the worker-peasant alliance, and co-ordinating the action in the country-

side and twons with that of the armed forces in the resistance zones. Thanks to this, the August Revolution could score a rapid success.

Our long-term Resistance War was in substance a revolutionary war waged by the peasants under a proletarian leadership. Our Party took the peasants as main forces, and the countryside as the source of supply of wealth and manpower for the front; it relied on the topographical conditions of the countryside to carry out guerilla and mobile warfare and used the countryside to encircle the towns. During the Resistance War, while fighting the enemy, we built our forces, fostered the forces of the people, mainly the peasants, and implemented the various policies on land, thereby intensifying the Resistance War and developing and strengthening the forces of the Resistance to win final victory.

The process of the people's national democratic revolution in Vietnam has proved that Lenin's ideas with regard to the revolution in colonies are most accurate. To have a Marxist-Leninist party of a new type, a worker-peasant alliance under proletarian leadership, thoroughly to understand and correctly to solve the peasant question, to set up a united national front within the country and achieve international solidarity, to apply adequate organizational forms and methods of struggle, these are the main factors which contribute to the success of the national-liberation revolution.

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For the last six years, our people have entered a new historical stage. The completely liberated North is advancing to socialism. The South, still under foreign occupation, is continuing the national democratic revolution.

The present task common to the entire people is *"to strengthen national unity, resolutely struggle to maintain peace, strongly push forward socialist revolution in the North, at the same time to carry out national-democratic revolution in the South, bring about national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy, build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and strong Vietnam, practically contribute to the strengthening of the forces of the socialist camp, and the safeguarding of peace in South-East Asia and in the world"*.

This common task shows clearly that our people as a whole are carrying out two different revolutionary works; these two works are based on the objective law of development of the Vietnamese society in the present conjuncture.

Since the restoration of peace and complete liberation of the North, the people's national democratic revolution there has been basically completed. The North has shifted to a new revolutionary stage, that of socialist revolution. Lenin said: "The bourgeois democratic revolution being completed, we do not stop halfway, but immediately advance to socialist revolution by relying on our own forces, on the forces of the proletariat which is organized and conscious of the need for revolution.

Owing to the fact that our Party has maintained the monopoly of guidance over the national-democratic revolution, the worker-peasant alliance has been consolidated, people's power has been set up since the August Revolution and has constantly been strengthened, we can shift the revolution to socialism in a peaceful way. In the conditions of our country, the forces of the national bourgeoisie are small and weak in the economic as well as political fields. In former times, the bourgeoisie followed the workers and peasants, or supported them in the national democratic revolution. At present they are willing to accept socialist transformation, therefore our Party's policy is peacefully to transform capitalist trade and industry, gradually to transform capitalist ownership into socialist ownership, through State capitalism, and to transform the bourgeois from exploiters into genuine workers through ideological education and participation in productive labour, so that they may actively contribute to socialist construction.

Lenin taught that with the support of the proletariat in advanced countries, the backward countries can bypass the stage of capitalist development to proceed to communism. This question is being put to our people in the North.

Our road to socialism cannot be other than the road Marxism-Leninism has mapped out and the Soviet Union and other brother socialist countries have been following with success. However, as Lenin taught, "All nations must advance to socialism, this is an unavoidable process, but in doing so, they do not all

apply exactly the same measures. Each nation will have its particular characteristics in one form of democracy or another, of one or another kind of dictatorship of the proletariat and at one speed or another in socialist transformation in various fields of social activities”.

We must base ourselves on our country's characteristics correctly to apply the common principles and laws on socialist construction, and work out adequate forms, methods, steps and speeds.

What are the characteristics of the north of our country in its transitional stage to advance to socialism? There are three main characteristics:

1. The north of our country is an area in which agriculture is backward and mainly based on individual production, capitalism is weak, agriculture accounts for the greater part of the national economy, industry is not yet developed, culture and science are at a low level, and the lack of cadres and technicians is acute.

2. Socialist construction and transformation in the North are being carried out in the condition of our country still being temporarily partitioned into two zones.

3. The north of our country is advancing to socialism at a time when the socialist camp has become a world system stronger than the capitalist camp, and the relations of international co-operation and distribution of work within the socialist camp have been built up and strengthened.

From the foregoing characteristics, we clearly realize that *the North must and can by-pass the stage of capitalist development to advance to socialism.*

The socialist revolution in the north of our country is *a process of revolutionary transformation in all fields, aimed at directly taking the North from an economy mainly based on private ownership of means of production, to a socialist economy based on national ownership and collective ownership, from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, and from a backward economy to an economy whose structure is balanced and modern, thus rapidly pushing the North forward in all fields and making of it a firm basis for the struggle for national reunification.*

The foregoing process of revolutionary transformation is that of close co-ordination of socialist transformation with socialist construction; both these aspects are closely connected and cannot be separated. In the practical situation of our country, in the first stage, we consider socialist transformation as the central task, and at the same time we are making initial steps in socialist construction. When socialist transformation has scored decisive successes, we will shift our central task to socialist construction.

To carry out socialist transformation of a backward agricultural country like ours the main question is the socialist transformation of agriculture.

At present, the toiling peasants still remain the biggest forces in our country. Among 16 million people in the North, more than 14 million are peasant. Besides, our peasants have heroic revolutionary traditions

and are confident in the Party's leadership, not only in national democratic revolution but also in socialist revolution. If we do not rely on these large forces our socialist transformation and construction cannot be conducted favourably and successfully. We must clearly realize that *the peasant question is still a fundamental question in the socialist revolution in our country, and that the forces of the toiling peasants together with the forces of the working class are still the main forces in socialist transformation and construction in our country.*

The socialist transformation of capitalist trade and industry is also very important because it aims at liquidating the system of exploitation of man by man, and eliminating the economic sector opposing socialism.

In *socialist transformation*, the main thing is to build the material and technical basis for socialism. As Lenin has clearly shown, this material basis is a modern mechanized industry. To have a socialist material and technical basis in the condition of a country whose agriculture is backward like ours, there is no other way than carrying out *socialist industrialization, which is the central task throughout the transitional period paving the way to socialism.*

In socialist industrialization, we must firmly abide by the principle that priority must be given to the development of heavy industry and that particular attention must be paid to the development of the engineering branch because this is a common law of social development. Only through the development of

heavy industry, which is a branch turning out means of production, can we secure an ever growing production for society, equip the national economic branches on the basis of modern technique and push forward the tempo of economic development, and on this basis secure a constant improvement in the people's livelihood.

But socialist industrialization consists not only in building a modern industry but also in modernizing agriculture and other branches of the national economy. Ours is an agricultural country. We must set out on our road to socialism with this agricultural background in mind. Therefore, *agriculture has a very great impact and significance during the process of socialist construction in our country.*

That industry is the key branch of the national economy as a whole is a fact we must affirm. But agriculture is the basis of economy on which industry relies for its development. It is the source of supply of manpower, foodstuffs and raw materials, the consumer market for industry, and an important source of accumulation and exports to exchange for machines and equipment for industry. Moreover, agriculture is the most important branch supplying the people with means of subsistence.

Only through the intense development of agriculture can industry be favourably developed. In the process of socialist construction, we must attach great importance to the development of industry. At the same time we must pay due attention to agriculture, thoroughly understand and correctly co-ordinate the

development of agriculture with that of industry, these being the two most important branches of the national economy.

Therefore, our policy in industrialization is *"to build a balanced and modern socialist economic structure in co-ordinating industry with agriculture, to take industry as a foundation, in giving priority to its rational development, at the same time to strive to develop agriculture and light industry with a view to turning our backward country into a socialist one endowed with modern industry and modern agriculture"*.

With regard to our economic transformation and development, *the ideological, cultural and technical revolution has a very great impact.*

In the situation of our country, whose material and technical basis is still low and weak, a very important question is to bring into full play the spirit, ideology and subjective dynamism of the toiling people in order to overcome material dearths and difficulties strongly to push forward the construction of the material and technical basis. Socialist construction can be sped up only through an ideological revolution, the raising of the conscience of the people as masters, the mobilization of their heroic spirit of struggle and selfless labour, and the drawing of the masses of people into participating in socialist construction.

Only by revolutionizing culture and technique, raising people's cultural and technical level, intensifying the activities in the fields of science and technology, education, culture, arts, public health, etc., and

training an army of technical cadres and skilled workers politically conscious and professionally qualified can modern industry, modern agriculture, and advanced culture and science be built.

Therefore, *the ideological, cultural and technical revolution must be carried on simultaneously with the economic revolution: these revolutions must go hand in hand and provide mutual impetus in their development.*

To implement the foregoing tasks is correctly to implement the theory and line of action common to socialist construction worked out by Lenin. This theory and line of action have been proved entirely correct by the historical experience of the Soviet Union and other brother socialist countries. This is the only road rapidly to lead the people of the North to a new life and turn it into a strong base in the struggle for national reunification. The task assigned to our entire Party and people in the North is to do their best to achieve this glorious and great objective.

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At a time when the northern people are joyfully advancing to socialism, the southern people have to live under the yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, the Ngo Dinh Diem clique.

At present South Vietnam is still a colonial and semi-feudal society fraught with two basic contradictions: the contradiction between the people as a

whole and the aggressive imperialist invaders, and the contradiction between our people, whose vast majority are peasants, and the feudalists.

The law governing the South is that of a colonial and feudal regime. The road to liberation for the southern people can be none other than that mapped out by Lenin for the national-liberation revolution of colonial peoples.

But the national-democratic revolution of the southern people is being brought to pass at a time when the world and internal situation have undergone fundamental changes. In the world, the forces of socialism, national independence, peace and democracy have gained an ever growing supremacy while capitalism is weakening and driven back.

More and more possibilities have been provided to check and frustrate all imperialist warlike schemes, to maintain and consolidate a lasting peace.

In our country, our people are in possession of the completely liberated North and are advancing toward socialism. This is a firm base for the revolution in the South.

In this new conjuncture, the contradictions inherent in imperialism as indicated formerly by Lenin, viz. the contradiction between capitalism and the proletariat, the contradiction between imperialism and the colonies, and the contradiction between the imperialists among themselves, have not disappeared nor become less acute, but on the contrary remain unchanged and grow ever sharper. These contradictions are obvious in the South.

But in this present new situation, these contradictions of imperialism have undergone new changes:

1. Formerly *the contradiction between monopoly capitalism and the proletariat* was mainly the contradiction within imperialist countries. The struggle of the proletariat in metropolitan countries against monopoly capitalism has weakened imperialism, thus creating favourable conditions for the revolution in the colonies to be launched.

At present, the situation has changed. *With the emergence of the world socialist system, the contradiction between capitalism and proletariat is also expressed, in the first place between the socialist camp and the capitalist camp on a world-wide scale. It is also expressed in our country as a contradiction between the socialist system in the North and the imperialist domination in the South.* In the world, the socialist forces are becoming stronger than the imperialist forces. In our country, the socialist forces in the North are also being developed strongly.

Though this situation has created a number of complications for the revolution in the South, the advantages are fundamental. We must know how to make use of this supremacy of the socialist forces adequately and in good time to help the revolution in the South develop favourably.

2. Formerly, *in the contradiction between imperialism and the colonies* throughout the world, the colonial forces were at the time weak. At present, the

liberation movement of the colonial peoples has stirred up an immensely strong force which is smashing the colonial system of the imperialists and is overthrowing it. This situation is also very favourable to the revolution in the South. In our country at present, though the American imperialists are established only in the South, the contradiction between imperialism and the colonies is not confined to the South alone, on the contrary it is common to the whole country. The liberation of the South is not only a task of the southern people, but also of the entire people, of the South as well as of the North. The northern people will never neglect their task with regard to one half of their country, which is not yet liberated.

But in the present conjuncture, when the possibility exists to maintain a lasting peace in the world and create favourable conditions for the world movement of socialist revolution and national independence to go forward, we can and must guide and restrict within the South the solving of the contradiction between imperialism and the colonies in our country. The 12 million southern people successfully carried out the August Revolution, and conducted the heroic Resistance War for nine long years. In the present favourable conditions they are continuing to develop the tradition of unity and valiant struggle, and are certain to go forward, thus completing the liberation of the South, and bringing about the reunification of the Fatherland.

3. At present *the contradiction between the imperialists themselves* still exists and grows ever sharper.

For the last six years in the South, the contradiction between the imperialists themselves is very clearly expressed. The American imperialists have ousted the French colonialists and replaced them to rule over the South. Though colluding together in the so-called "S.E.A.T.O." to oppose the North and the socialist camp, the imperialists are scrambling for a bigger share of the interests.

At present, while making use of the contradiction between the imperialists themselves, we must pay attention to a new situation, which is the contradiction between the newly-emerged capitalist countries in South-East Asia and the imperialist countries: this contradiction is not only between the notion of national independence of the peoples of these countries and colonialism or the contradiction between the need for peace of the peoples of these countries and imperialist warlike policies, but it is also the very contradiction between the newly developed capitalist economy of these countries and imperialist competition and pressure.

The foregoing contradictions, merged together, are weakening and isolating the imperialists throughout the world as well as in South Vietnam. As was taught by Lenin, the ever deeper contradictions inherent in capitalism favour the outbreak of the revolution. We must know how to make use of these contradictions skilfully in order to help push forward the revolution in the South.

The U.S.-Diem clique in the South, though rampant are irretrievably doomed to annihilation. The road to liberate the people from the imperialist plight cannot be other than the road of revolution.

At present, the revolution in the South is unfolding at a time when the possibility arises to maintain peace throughout the world. This is a new and favourable condition. If peace can be maintained, the aggressive schemes of the U.S.-Diem clique will rapidly fail, and their totalitarian fascist regime will rapidly decay. If peace is maintained, the revolutionary forces will enjoy necessary conditions to develop strongly. Hence, to maintain peace is a revolutionary slogan.

Following the road blazed by Lenin our southern people have built their revolutionary forces, united all patriotic forces opposed to the U.S.-Diem clique within a broad national united front on the basis of a firm worker-peasant-soldier alliance, and applied various adequate forms of organization and struggle, and in this way they will certainly bring to completion their glorious cause of liberating the South and bringing about the reunification of the Fatherland.

III

Dear Comrades,

Lenin was not only a political theorician, a born strategist, but also a great philosopher, whose activities constituted a bright example in understanding and creatively applying dialectical and historical

materialism. He was resolute in his struggle against idealism and revisionism, for the theoretical foundation of Marxism. He summed up the new scientific discoveries, essentially in natural science since the death of Marx and Engels, and developed the Marxist philosophy a step further.

Fighting against the bourgeois scholars who sought ways and means to repudiate the class character of philosophy, Lenin pointed out, "Now as 2,000 years ago, philosophy always bears the mark of partisanship". He taught that we must make dialectical and historical materialism serve the proletariat, regarding this philosophy as a sharp tool in the hands of the working class to interpret the world, and what is more important, to transform it. He held that if the proletariat has not a world outlook based on dialectical and historical materialism, it cannot get the better of imperialism and take society to socialism.

Lenin always laid emphasis on the role of practice. Practice alone is the basis of knowledge and the criterion of truth. He taught us that to find out whether or not a revolutionary party is loyal to the revolutionary cause, we must not only base ourselves on its slogans and programme, but proceed from practice to control the execution of these slogans and programme. It is likewise with the working class' party, the correctness of whose lines and policies can be controlled only on the basis of practice. Therefore, theory cannot be severed from practice. Lenin said, "Theory is not a dogma but a compass for action".

Lenin was always against bookishness, the learning by heart of hide bound formulas. He taught that we

must base ourselves on the process of development of things, and on different times and places to formulate different policies. Truth is concrete, objective, it is not something abstract. Once the situation has changed, we must have the courage to reject the outdated formulas and conclusions, replace them by new ones to direct the masses' revolutionary struggle.

Lenin taught us that in the development of things, there are always contradictions. They are the cause of development: "The law of unity and struggle of opposites is the core of dialectical materialism". The task of a revolutionary party is not to conceal the contradictions but timely to discover the mature ones in society and to solve them. The art in revolutionary guidance lies precisely in the discovery and solution of contradictions. To this end we must know how to grasp the most essential contradiction and concentrate our forces on it.

Lenin's revolutionary theory as a whole is precisely the ingenious application of the basic principles of dialectical and historical materialism to the revolutionary struggle. Therefore in learning them we cannot discard ourselves from the theoretical basis of dialectical and historical materialism.

Lenin's life and activities are also a model of *revolutionary spirit and virtues*. He devoted all his life to the great cause of communism. Until his last breath, he did not cease to militate for the emancipation of the working class, the toiling people and oppressed nations. The rulers imprisoned him, exiled him to far-off and desolate Siberia, forced him to take

refuge in foreign countries, the counter-revolutionaries plotted to assassinate him but they could not shake his boundless loyalty to the revolution.

The whole life of Lenin's was a *fierce and relentless combat*. Not only did he harbour a deep hatred for all exploiting systems and resolutely struggle for their elimination but he unceasingly unmasked and pitilessly fought all opportunists in the workers' movement, and all erroneous political tendencies and ideas within the party. In the process of revolution, he struggled and defeated the Populists, the Mensheviks, the Economists, the Otzovists, the Liquidators, he fought against the Trotskyites, the Bukharinistes, the Democratic Centralism group, the Workers' Opposition, etc. in Russia, and also against the opportunists and revisionists in the Second International, such as Kautsky, Bernstein. He taught us, "He who wants to reconcile with opportunism will wallow in the opportunist mire." As Stalin rightly put it, Lenin was an eagle of the forest, he never feared struggle and boldly took the Party forward in virgin directions of the revolutionary movement.

One of Lenin's valuable virtues was his *love for the masses, his profound confidence in their revolutionary potential and creativeness*. Lenin was constantly close to the masses, listened attentively to them, tried to understand their aspirations and find out their difficulties, and learned from them. The harder the revolution, the greater Lenin's confidence in the masses' revolutionary potential. We all know that right from the beginning of his revolutionary career, he struggled

against the Populists who slighted the role of the masses, regarding them as bumpkins. He showed that the masses are genuine makers of history.

Lenin highly valued every creative initiative of the masses. After the October Revolution, he devoted a great work, *A great beginning*, to praise the revolutionary mettle of the masses on communist Saturdays.

Lenin had also many other virtues well known to us. He was simple, modest, showed a deep concern about his comrades and the masses, never slighted little things, loved and respected women and children, etc.

In commemorating Lenin, we must endeavour to learn from his revolutionary virtues, temper ourselves into a communist militant possessed of political awareness, loyalty to the revolution, energy, selfless devotion and heroism as Lenin used to say in order to be a worthy fighter in the combat army of great Lenin.

In our country, President Ho Chi Minh is the symbol of Lenin's purest and finest revolutionary virtues. We must do our utmost to follow his example.

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Dear Comrades,

In recalling Lenin's great contributions to the world revolution, and his revolutionary virtues and style in work, we can see all the clearer that he is an

extremely great man. After Marx and Engels, the world has not yet got so great a figure as Lenin.

The road blazed by Marxism-Leninism has stood the test of history and proved to be the unique and correct road taking mankind to freedom and happiness.

Under the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, the people of the great Soviet Union overthrew the rule of the Tsar, of the landlords and the capitalists, eliminated the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man, completed the construction of a socialist society and are heroically marching forward.

Under the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, the peoples of great China and of the brother socialist countries have scored many brilliant achievements in their revolutionary cause, and are valiantly advancing to the successful completion of socialist construction.

Under the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, the working class and the toiling people throughout the world are doing their utmost in their struggle for peace, democracy, social progress and have gained great successes.

Under the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, the oppressed nations have risen up for self-liberation and are winning repeated brilliant successes.

Under the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, our Vietnamese people brought the August Revolution and the Resistance to success, completely liberated half of our country and are resolutely struggling to take North Vietnam to socialism and realize national reunification.

We are completely confident that the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism will certainly take the revolutionary cause of the world's people and of Vietnam to splendid successes.

— Long live great Lenin!

— Long live Marxism-Leninism, the invincible banner of the working class, the toiling people and the oppressed nations!

— The proletariat and the oppressed nations in the world, unite!

— Long live communism!

— Long live peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam!

REASSESSMENT OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE VIETNAMESE PROLETARIAT *

During the eighty years under the French and the Japanese yokes, our people fought most heroically in various movements: the Van Than¹, Phan Dinh Phung², Hoang Hoa Tham³, Phan Chu Trinh⁴, Phan Boi Chau⁵, the Yen Bai insurrection⁶, the 1930-1931 movement with the Nghe-Tinh Soviet uprising⁷ as its climax, the insurrections of Nam Ky⁸ and Bac Son⁹. Finally in August 1945 the revolution for national liberation came out victorious and the Vietnamese people have become again masters of their beloved fatherland.

The victorious August Revolution ushered in a new era in Vietnam's history, because it was not only a revolution for national liberation but a revolution to emancipate the people and take them to a new road, the road of modern history of mankind.

For a correct assessment of the factors of the triumph of the August Revolution, we must study its development from the beginning.

* Speech delivered on the day commemorating the 12th anniversary of the August Revolution (1957).

PURPOSE OF FRENCH IMPERIALISM
IN INVADING OUR COUNTRY,
COLLUSION BETWEEN IMPERIALISM AND FEUDALISM
AND REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS
FOR NATIONAL SALVATION FROM THE BEGINNING OF
FOREIGN DOMINATION TO WORLD WAR I

The main purpose of French imperialism in occupying our country was to sell goods, exploit our raw materials, levy taxes and conscript labour, that is to plunder our people and exploit their labour force.

Ours is an agrarian country. By exploiting the labour force of our people, the imperialists mainly aimed at the peasants who either tilled their fields or worked as labourers in their enterprises. We can say that the French imperialists invaded our country essentially to rob the labour force of our peasantry.

Therefore the contradictions between our nation and French imperialism were in essence the contradictions between the peasantry and imperialism.

For us however, the loss of our country means not only the loss of our daily vital material interests, but also the loss of our human value and dignity, of the common reason for existence of a whole nation built up through thousands of years.

For this reason, the contradictions between our nation and French imperialism were also the contradictions between national existence and aggression.

To exploit the peasantry, the French imperialists needed not abolish feudalism as they did in their own country; but they maintained it to help in their exploitation, that is why they left no stone unturned to collude with feudalism.

As imperialism stripped them of their posts of ruling and exploiting the peasants, the feudals naturally wanted to resist. But, weak and out-moded, feudalism was helpless in face of imperialism which was winning victory after victory in the world; furthermore at that time the contradiction between feudalism and the peasantry was sharp. Minding only the feudal selfish and short-sighted interests, the kings of the Nguyen dynasty were more afraid of losing their throne than losing their country. The weak and selfish feudal class, helpless in face of imperialism, surrendered to and compromised with it and went so far as to work hand in glove with it against the people's movement of struggle for national salvation.

However, a section of feudalism among the intelligentsia realizing that the feudals as such had no other interests than to serve the imperialists, rose up against the French. But their anti-imperialist spirit and national-salvation spirit sprang not mainly from the surviving strength of the feudal regime, but from the spirit of national independence and the millenary culture of these intellectuals and the working masses, which developed spontaneously under the royalist banner. Likewise, the modernization movement having a bourgeois democratic tendency and led by the old national patriotic intellectuals, did not originate from the emerging economic and social basis of national bourgeois character, but from the spirit of national independence and the cultural basis at a

time when the feudal regime in the country was facing bankruptcy and the East shifting from feudalism to bourgeoisie.

Therefore in essence these movements did not reflect the contradiction between imperialism and feudalism, or between imperialism and the economy of the local bourgeoisie which had not yet taken shape, but they mainly showed the contradictions between the spirit of national independence and the aggressive imperialist regime, between the oppression and exploitation by imperialist capital and the toiling people, especially the peasants.

That is why we can affirm that in invading our country French imperialism created a contradiction between it and the whole of our nation. Nevertheless the contradictions between imperialism and the peasantry and between imperialism and feudalism were not the same because our country like all other countries was a class society with differing and contending interests; hence the general contradiction between the social classes and imperialism differed and changed according to the position and relations existing between these classes.

The contradiction between the peasantry and imperialism already bore in itself the contradiction between the peasantry and feudalism, not only because the peasantry itself was in contradiction with feudalism but because the latter had surrendered to imperialism, depended on it and colluded with it against the peasantry; the contradiction between the patriotic elements of feudalism and imperialism also

changed and bore in itself the contradiction between these patriotic elements and feudalism, because the feudal regime was serving as a puppet of imperialism and impeding the onward march of the nation. Feudalism which was first in antagonistic contradiction with imperialism had then a non-antagonistic contradiction and colluded with imperialism into a bloc opposing the peasantry and the patriots.

This was in substance, the economic, political and social aspect of the revolutionary movements since the invasion of our country by French imperialism up to World War I.

However at that time the objective content of these revolutionary movements had not been clearly realized by their leaders and consequently these movements did not bring about the expected result and could not shake off imperialist domination.

THE PROLETARIAT ENTERS THE POLITICAL ARENA AND LEADS THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

According to Vietnam's history of the period of domination by French imperialism, our national-liberation movement of a broad mass character and embracing many political parties and leading classes, developed after World War I and since then Vietnam's history recorded new particular changes.

With its programme of exploiting the colonies, French imperialism created in Vietnam a weak local bourgeoisie and turned the proletariat into a stronger

class, because the latter did not appear at the same time as the local bourgeoisie but previously, together with the coming of imperialist capitalism.

In its exploitation of Indo-China, French capitalism held the key notes of the economy, monopolizing banking, the issuing of bank notes, foreign trade, inland transport and communication. The major branches of production which constituted the resources of Indo-China, such as rubber, coal, rice, were in its hands, even the branches supplying building materials such as cement, bricks, tiles, lime, timber, were entirely held by French capitalism; the other means of living of the people such as weaving, basket-making, were nearly completely ruined by the French capitalists' industry and trade. The local bourgeoisie which was made up mostly of the various strata of the landlord class, held only the subsidiary economic branches and subsidiary trade. There were no trading firms, no enterprises having sufficient capitals to compete with French capitalism at all.

To subordinate Indo-China's economy entirely to theirs, the French colonialists never thought of developing heavy industry in this colony and even held up the expansion of light industry.

This manoeuvre of the French colonialists, coupled with their colonial politics hamstrung the fund accumulation of the local bourgeois, preventing them from going in for any important trading and industrial branches. Worsened by the continual bankruptcy observed in agriculture, this situation reduced the local bourgeois to the role of paid agents of French

capitalism in order to maintain their predominance over the broad toiling masses in the country.

This state of things wrought particular changes in Vietnam's social and political situation.

The Vietnamese bourgeoisie played only a role of subordinates or placemen of French capitalism. It had not of itself played an active role and so, apart from its capacity as agents or henchmen, it was eager to depend on one imperialism or another. That is why the anti-French imperialist spirit of a small section of Vietnamese bourgeoisie was nothing but the spirit to get rid of the French yoke to be subordinate to another imperialism. With this economic situation and hence with the class character of Vietnamese bourgeoisie as said above, no national-liberation revolution led by the bourgeoisie was possible.

In the economic field the Yen Bai insurrection reflected only the bankruptcy of some sections of the peasantry and small manufacturers after the French, with the development of their light industry, had got exclusive control over the means of living of the Vietnamese people; it showed that the prospect of a bourgeois economy was nipped in the bud. From another point of view, it also reflected the spontaneous development of the patriotism of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals in face of the surging of the revolutionary movement at home and abroad. However, lacking a social force backed by a bourgeois economic basis, this national revolution of a bourgeois character led by the petty bourgeois intellectuals, was made under the impulse of a short-lived mettle and audacity inherent in the petty-bourgeois class, and ended in

an abortive insurrection to seek compromise with imperialism. In the end, these social sections carried on their task of "national liberation" by composing some poems, writing a literary work or publishing some novels or newspapers of bourgeois reformist character.

While giving birth to a weak bourgeoisie, the economic situation of Vietnam on the contrary, created a quite strong proletariat, because in Vietnam the proletariat did not come into being at the same time as the local bourgeoisie, but was born and developed long before, with the exploitation and growth of French imperialist capitalism. The ruin of the small productive branches in the countryside and of small industries, dragged tens of thousands of peasants into the towns and the French colonialist-owned rubber, coffee and rice plantations, and turned them into proletarians. This fairly rapid development of the proletariat and the pauperism suffered by all the rural sections have sealed the peasantry into a powerful force with the proletariat. The weak and dependent character of the bourgeoisie and its rapid submission to imperialism and the temporarily spontaneous character of all the strata of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, have given the proletariat — a class oppressed and exploited by feudalism, imperialism and the national bourgeoisie — a predominant role on Vietnam's political stage and set it the task of liberating itself and the nation as well. This position of the proletariat was made possible by the situation in the country, the treason and capitulation of the bourgeoisie and landlordism in China — a neighbouring country which

exerted great influence on Vietnamese culture — and the triumph of international proletariat in the Soviet Union, a country as large as one sixth of the globe.

This pauperism and destitution of the peasantry under the French colonial regime, the deep and powerful national feeling of the peasantry, the weakness of the local bourgeoisie, the example set by the proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union, in liberating the peasantry and taking it definitely to the proletarian path, were factors which gave the Vietnamese peasants confidence in their revolutionary potentialities and in the certain victory under the leadership of the proletariat.

As the Vietnamese proletariat has its interests closely linked to the interests of the broad peasant masses in the country and to the national liberation task and as its political role at home and abroad has given it an advanced and revolutionary theory of a national liberation revolution, it has become a valiant vanguard army, fully capable of defeating imperialism and feudalism, liberating the nation and the class, wresting back independence for Vietnam and building it into a new country.

In the actual revolutionary movement which took place in the country from 1924-1925 to 1930-1931, the revolutionary movement for national liberation waged according to the proletarian standpoint developed simultaneously with the national liberation movement carried out along the bourgeois standpoint. While the Yen Bai insurrection ended the bourgeois revolutionary movement, the struggles waged by the proletariat and the peasantry have taken place heroically

throughout the country up to the present time. This is a historical event particular to the movement for liberation of the Vietnamese nation.

In the revolution to liberate its class and nation, the Vietnamese proletariat possesses its own genuine vanguard Party. In the specific historical conditions of Vietnam and profiting by the valuable experiences gained through one hundred years by the international proletariat especially by the Russian revolution, the Party has led the revolutionary movement in Vietnam with a correct standpoint of a national liberation revolution. Our Party has been tried and tested in the most trying days, now legally now illegally; at any time and everywhere, working underground or holding power, it has raised aloft the national and democratic banner, the banner of national salvation and liberation; at any time and everywhere, it is worthy of being the vanguard army of the revolution, not flinching the least from countless difficulties or dangers and valiantly fulfilling the mission entrusted by history.

We can say that without the Indo-Chinese Communist Party, the triumph of the August Revolution was impossible.

POSITION OF THE PEASANTRY AND THE WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE

"The national question is mainly the peasant question". Eighty years of Vietnamese revolution has substantiated the correctness and profundity of this affirmation,

Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc¹⁰ has compared imperialism with a leech having two suckers, one bleeding the proletariat in the mother country and the other bleeding the peasants in the colonies. That means that imperialism has lived on the exploitation of the proletariat as well as of the peasants.

The peasantry in the colonies does not lie in the economic structure of feudalism only but also in the economic structure of imperialism. As the economic structure of imperialism embraces the economic structure of feudalism, the contradiction between the peasantry and imperialism is similar to that between the peasantry and feudal-landlordism. However by losing the country, the peasants lose also the sacred national legacy. What was left by our forefathers, the beautiful land built through a millenary, was then despicably trampled underfoot by foreign capitalism. The indignation for the present situation, the heroism bequeathed by their ancestors and the worry for their offsprings have kindled in the peasants' mind the flame of boundless hatred for the invaders.

However for generations, the peasants were tightly bound as serfs to the landlords' estates. Husbands and wives, fathers and children looked inquiringly at one another, not knowing when they would be delivered from their drudgery. Nothing was more cherished for them than their aspiration to own the land they were tilling. Their hatred for feudal-landlordism smouldering for ages in their spirit of independence they did not mean only to get rid of imperialism but also aspired to free themselves from the feudal-landlord bondage.

The Vietnamese peasants are traditionally valiant in fighting and defeating the foreign aggressors to build the country. They have also written glorious pages in the history of their struggle against feudal-landlordism.

Relying on the bureaucratic feudals, the French imperialists created a new landlord class, grabbed land, ruined most of the peasants' side-occupations, did fraudulent transactions, lent at high interest rates and created heavy taxes in order to turn the peasants into slaves tied to their plantations and mines. They lowered the peasants' living standard so as to curtail the dirt-cheap wages of the workers and net big super-profits in the colonies.

The period in which the French colonialists developed and exploited the colonies was the period in which the peasants were utterly ruined and the landlords free to rob them of their lands.

For this reason when the communists representing the proletariat put forth the slogan of abolishing imperialism and feudalism, wresting back national independence and winning back the land for the tillers the peasants carried out a national revolution movement which reached a size unprecedented in the history of anti-imperialist struggle in the last decades.

The peasantry representing 90 per cent of the population was a tremendous revolutionary force. But it had no independent political position in history, because the political leadership must always be detained by the classes which represent a given social

economy. In the feudal society this role was played by feudalism, in the capitalist society by the bourgeoisie and in the socialist society naturally by the proletariat.

While feudalism was colluding with imperialism to sell out the country and exploit the peasantry, the latter had two alternatives: to place itself either under the leadership of the bourgeoisie or under the leadership of the proletariat.

Because the path outlined by the proletariat fell in line with the aspiration of the peasantry, because the proletariat has proved to be capable of championing the interests of the peasantry as in Russia and because the bourgeoisie was powerless and easily betrayed the interests of the peasantry as experienced by the Chinese revolution, the great majority of the peasantry embarked upon the path laid by the proletariat under the slogan "National independence" and "Land to the tillers" put forth by the Indo-Chinese Communist Party.

While at certain time, a tiny section of the peasantry joined the Vietnam Quoc Dan Dang (Vietnam Nationalist Party)¹¹ and another the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao¹² religious sects with their mystical anti-imperialist spirit, most of the peasantry took part in the communist movement in 1930 - 1931, the democratic movement in 1936 - 1939, the Viet Minh¹³ movement in 1941 - 1945, the Nghe An Soviet uprising, the insurrections in Nam Ky, Bac Son and Ba To¹⁴ and was the main force to raise the maelstrom of the August Revolution.

The truth was that without a close and powerful worker-peasant alliance the August Revolution could not come out victorious.

The worker-peasant alliance was a most important strategic task, because it was a positive force of the revolution. Only with this positive force could we win over the middle-of-the-road force and broaden the national force.

Besides, the leadership of the proletarian party can be maintained only when the worker-peasant alliance is firmly strengthened. Because the political influence of the Party is the political influence of the workers and peasants, the strength of the Party is the strength of the workers and peasants who are the grass-root masses of the Party. The Party of the proletariat cannot exist without the worker-peasant alliance.

The experience of the Vietnamese revolution has shown that a revolutionary movement is invincible when it correctly follows the path outlined by the proletariat and bases itself on the force of the worker-peasant alliance.

During the Resistance War, the revolutionary army — regular troops as well as guerilla fighters — was made up of armed peasants led by the Party; this is the illustration of the worker-peasant alliance rising in arms against imperialism and feudalism.

In the nine-year Resistance, the people's army defeated imperialism and feudalism. This testifies further that without the worker-peasant alliance, the Resistance could not be victorious.

* * *

THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT AND THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY

Under foreign domination, every Vietnamese longed to regain independence and freedom. Only if all Vietnamese were united and single-minded and rose up as one man, could the revolutionary movement become strong enough to defeat imperialism. This was the general revolutionary viewpoint of the Anti-imperialist National United Front.

It was not so in the historical reality. Immediately after the country was subjugated there were sections of the Vietnamese people which split off to side with imperialism and fight back against the people. This has rent the heart of the patriots who appealed in vain to the sacred national spirit. But sacred or not, it could not solve the problem; this settlement could only be made by history, by the men who grasp the law of history and of the society.

The Vietnamese people have built up a nation; for thousands of years they have been living together on the same territory under the same sky, and have inherited a millenary legacy from their ancestors; every Vietnamese sees in the national feeling a source of life, the aspirations common to the nation as a whole are also the aspirations of each Vietnamese. This is a reality. Like others, the Vietnamese society is made up of many classes, with contending interests. The daily activities of each Vietnamese are closely linked to the interests of his own class. Each class has its own historical position and nurtures particular aspirations for itself and for the whole of the society

according to the class relations in a given period of time and place. Therefore in the national-liberation movement the intensity of the patriotism of the Vietnamese people varies according to the degree of their consciousness of the rightful national interests, and class interests, to the sacrifice they make in the rightful interests of their class and to the sacrifice and awareness of their personal interests.

We have seen the sufferings and humiliation of the Vietnamese under the foreign yoke; we also have daily seen the Vietnamese who enjoy happiness with the blood and tears of other Vietnamese. The jarring class interests are vital interests. This is a historical reality occurring daily in the life of the Vietnamese people.

Therefore to conceive the National United Front independently of class awareness is but an abstract knowledge, a means of deceit or an instinct of conservation of the selfish interests of his own class.

The content of the national united front cannot exclude class content.

Then are there contradictions between the interests of the class and those of the nation, and vice versa?

Feudalism has solved these contradictions by surrendering to and colluding with imperialism. This testifies not only to the weakness of feudalism, but to the acute opposition between the interests of the peasantry and those of feudalism. Feudalism has solved this problem not from the national standpoint but from the class standpoint. This historical reality gives the lie that there was no fierce class struggle in Vietnam.

Looking back to the national liberation movement of the national front during the period from 1924, 1925 to 1930, 1931, we see very clearly that:

1. The national liberation movement has developed on the basis of social classes*.

* In Bac Bo (North Vietnam) there were the movement of bourgeois character waged by petty-bourgeois intellectuals, and rich and powerful peasants, led by Vietnam Quoc Dan Dang (Vietnam Nationalist Party), the movement of socialist character waged by workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals led by Thanh Nien Cach Mang Dong Chi Hoi (Association of Young Revolutionary Comrades), Tan Viet (New Viet) and the Indo-Chinese Communist Party, the movement for national reform and co-operation closely linked with the opportunists and traitors to the country swayed by the Quynh, Nang, Vinh, Luc clique. In Trung Bo (Central Vietnam) there were the national revolution movement without political line and method launched by Phan Boi Chau, and next to it the patriotic movement, inactive and in a deadlock, having a reformist form, and grouping around the newspaper Tieng Dan (People's Voice) and especially in the Council of People's Representatives; the powerful revolutionary movement of workers, peasants, petty-bourgeois intellectuals led by the Association of Young Revolutionary Comrades, the New Viet and the Indo-Chinese Communist Party. In Nam Bo (South Vietnam) there were the continuation of the patriotic movement launched by the patriots Phan Chu Trinh and Phan Van Truong, the boiling patriotic movement of Nguyen An Ninh, the revolutionary fighters of the Vietnam Nationalist Party, (Tran Huy Lieu), of publicists and writers (Tran Huu Do) which bore a bourgeois character. Besides there was the backward movement waged by a number of peasants headed by the malcontents among the bourgeois and landlords: Cao Dai, the movement of reform and co-operation linked with the traitors and capitulants among the bourgeois, landlords, intellectuals and speculators: the Constitutionalist Party.

2. In each part of the country, the national movement took a more or less complex form according to a more or less elaborate class differentiation.

3. Each social class, each section of people made known its standpoint and political tendency in the national liberation movement.

The fact that the classes and political parties had different political programmes for national liberation, testifies that the national liberation movement had a definite class struggle character.

From the historical point of view, nationalism and national consciousness* manifest themselves clearly and profoundly throughout the people of a nation only when this nation is threatened with foreign invasion, that is when the vital interests of all the classes of the nation are threatened and violated, or they manifest themselves in the period when the classes in the country have their consciousness roused and require a democratic system which guarantees the vital interests of all the classes**.

Thus national spirit cannot be separated from democratic spirit. However democratic spirit always

* Nation is one thing and national consciousness is another.

** Under feudalism the working people enjoyed democratic rights and had the right to defend their interests; only when the common interests of the nation had been suppressed and only then, did the national spirit develop. Under capitalism, the working people relied on the bourgeois democratic form used by capitalism to defeat feudalism, to demand genuine democracy and defend their interests. This is also the reason of development of the national spirit.

has a class content, because we have only seen the democratic regime of the slave-owners' class in the Greek and Roman slave societies, in the bourgeois democratic regime or in the proletarian democratic regime* and there exists no democratic regime common to all classes**.

Therefore the national spirit cannot be taken apart from the democratic spirit, which in its turn, cannot stand outside the class spirit.

In the historical condition of Vietnam as studied above, the bourgeoisie could not put forth a genuinely broad and democratic programme. As the peasantry in our country made up 90 per cent of our population, the genuinely democratic rights should be the demo-

* People's democracy is also a form of proletarian democracy.

** Petty-bourgeois intellectuals frequently speak of a common democracy, a vague classless democracy of the petty bourgeoisie which tallies with their interests. In fact in society if democratic rights see to the interests of capitalism, they fundamentally run counter to the interests of the proletariat, and if they defend the interests of the proletariat they are fundamentally contrary to the interests of capitalism and there can be no democracy common to them. Therefore, the social regime must be either the capitalist system or the proletarian system and there cannot be a third system. In the period of transition, when we speak of mutual benefit of both labour and capitalism, in fact, we place the interests of capitalism under those of the proletariat and we do not stand for the interests of both parties; that is, in the conflict between capitalism and proletarianism at a certain time, in definite social conditions, for the sake of its interests and the interests of the nation, the proletariat can make concessions with capitalism in order to make it serve the common interests.

cratic rights of the peasantry, that is to say they should suppress the monopoly of land ownership of the landlords.

The viewpoint of the bourgeois as well as of the petty bourgeois in Vietnam cannot meet this democratic requirement of the peasantry, and of course cannot build up a broad united front.

The bourgeois sections usually allege that all classes — including the landlord class — must unite and co-operate with one another and only then can the national front be broad and powerful. In fact the bureaucratic landlords have deserted the nation and surrendered to imperialism to defend their rights of exploiting the peasantry. This front cannot be built with a compromise line, still less with the line of co-operation between capitulation and revolution. Inversely the national front should defeat the capitulationist line of the bureaucratic landlords among the people, call it by its name, isolate it, separate it from the people and regard it as the enemy of the nation so as to be able to broaden the national front *.

Besides, the landlord class in Vietnam, like in any other countries, lives on exploitation of land rent and interest rates, and therefore its political line is fundamentally to defend this exploitation. This line basically runs counter to that of the peasantry which is

* The Nationalist Party opposes feudalism in the political field; in the economic field and land privileges, it relies on the capitalist principle of "guaranteeing sacred private ownership" (of the landlords and capitalists).

to abolish the system of land rent and interest rates and the privileges and interests of the landlords, that is to defend the existence of the peasantry. To defend the existence of the peasantry is to defend the mighty force of the nation. To defend the existence of the landlords is to defend the cruel parasitical force of the nation. Therefore the political line to champion the interests of the peasantry is progressive and that upholding the interests of the landlords is reactionary.

To defeat imperialism, the national united front must rely on the progressive political line. That is why, in its national stand, the proletariat upholds definitely the interests of the peasantry in order to set up a genuinely broad and united national front.

Nevertheless the proletariat stands not only for the interests of the peasantry but also for the common interest of the nation. As it is not the peasantry, the proletariat has the objective condition to see clearly the trend and line of struggle between the peasantry and the landlords in the common line of struggle between the nation and imperialism.

In reality, in the national-liberation movement, the landlord class has undergone a marked differentiation caused by the displeasure of one of its sections at the drastic monopoly policy of imperialism and by the powerful worker-peasant movement which makes a number of bourgeois intellectuals, offspring of the landlords, to shift from their reformist stand to the revolutionary stand, dragging with them a number

of their kith-and-kin among the landlords. These landlords realize by themselves that should they not submit to the revolution they would have no other way left and be drowned by imperialism.

Therefore the political line of the proletariat is to overthrow the administrative machine of imperialism and its lackey, feudalism, and to thwart the imperialist aggressive policy and the line of capitulation and compromise of the feudal landlords; with regard to the agrarian policy, it is to confiscate the land of the imperialists and Vietnamese traitorous landlords for distribution to the peasants; concerning the landlords who did not follow imperialism, it is to reduce land rent and interest rates, that is to carry out democratic agrarian reform and gradually to profit the peasantry in order to advance to an all-round agrarian revolution and liberate the peasantry from the yoke of feudalism. This concession of the peasantry for the landlords who did not side with imperialism, is mainly to differentiate between the landlords, between the enemies and to weaken the economy so as to wipe him out easily. This concession is a form of struggle between the peasantry and the landlords in the national-liberation movement and not a form of alliance by compromise between the peasantry and the landlords. This also means to broaden the national front to win over the democracy-minded elements of the landlord class, the intellectuals of landlord stock or patriotic personalities and make them side definitely with the anti-imperialist people's democratic front.

Without a proletarian stand, there cannot be this correct people's democratic line, nor, of course can there be a mighty people's democratic force to overthrow imperialism.

Not only has this proletarian line of national front correctly upheld the interests of the nation but it has correctly solved the contradictions between the peasants and the landlords in order to strengthen the most powerful force of the nation — the peasantry — and it is precisely this line which dragged the reformist bourgeois to the side of the revolution.

As we are aware, the bourgeois' reformist tendency has never occupied an independent political position in the national-liberation movement. There were only the reformists, lackeys of imperialism, who deluded the masses. A bourgeois reformist movement having a class character could neither exist under the cruel colonial regime of the French imperialists. Sometimes this movement was nipped in the bud by imperialism and transformed into a reformist cultural movement. That is why after 1930 and 1931, owing to their weakness the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois sections not only were unable to lead the revolutionary movement for national liberation, but never led any reformist movement of political character*. Therefore, only a worker-peasant revolutionary movement can give support to the reformist bourgeois whose

* The reform campaign in the democratic movement (Popular Front) was a campaign launched by the revolutionary masses and not a reformist movement of bourgeois character.

opposition to imperialism will become effective only with their identification with this movement.

That is why without a worker-peasant alliance within the front, it was impossible to establish a powerful people's democratic basis and broaden the national front.

Generally speaking, the people's democratic front is a patriotic front. Patriotism will be the keenest, deepest and firmest in those Vietnamese whose personal interests are closest to the interests of the nation and the class. Therefore this patriotism is the apanage of the workers and peasants.

Having a rich sentimental life, the petty-bourgeois intellectuals share very easily the national feeling. At times, their patriotism was very boiling. They were very enthusiastic when the national-liberation movement reached a high tide, but usually they wavered between the bourgeois road and the proletarian road. The proletarian stand enhances the great patriotism of the workers and peasants, and strengthens further the patriotism of other sections of the people; the patriotism of workers and peasants serves the great majority of the masses and the bright future of the nation. On the contrary, the bourgeois stand only wears out and paralyses this patriotism, because the democracy of capitalism serves its personal selfish interests, and patriotism cannot be built with the spirit of serving these interests.

Therefore the petty-bourgeois intellectuals can also understand that only the proletarian democratic path

is their own. The abstract democratic idea they have dreamt of is not only hazy, unrealistic but also commonplace *. Therefore only by standing on the proletarian viewpoint, on the democratic line of the proletariat, by serving the nation and the majority of the labouring people can one broaden the patriotic front and build a powerful, widespread and steadfast national front.

The successful August Revolution and the great victorious resistance have entirely liberated half of our country. This testifies to the correctness of the Party's line regarding the front. Without the leadership of the Party the national united front certainly cannot be set up and cannot defeat imperialism and feudalism.

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POSITION OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE WORLD AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST LINE

The loss of Vietnam was not fortuitous. It was the outcome of the aggressive policy of imperialism.

Imperialism has become a system which exploits all the world's people, the weak and small peoples and keeps them in bondage.

* When their revolutionary sentiment sinks and bourgeois ideology penetrates in them and attacks them, they doubt the democratic line of the proletariat. If they are poisoned more deeply by bourgeois ideology it is possible that they stand against the national line of the proletariat.

Without a superior international position the revolution for national liberation of the Vietnamese people cannot have a revolutionary theory capable of grasping the line of growth and extinction of imperialism, and cannot have powerful allied forces in the world and cannot triumph. It is precisely the unity of the world proletariat and the contradictions of imperialism which have created for the national liberation movement in Vietnam the conditions to overthrow imperialism and local feudalism.

The history of the national-liberation movement in Vietnam in the last few decades has demonstrated that without this international position of the proletariat, the revolution waged by the Vietnamese people cannot be successful as it is today.

Thanks to the close alliance between the proletarian movement in France and in Vietnam, thousands of Vietnamese proletarian militants have succeeded in launching a far-reaching democratic movement among the Vietnamese people between 1936 and 1939.

During World War II, when many people among the Vietnamese bourgeoisie and landlord class ran after the temporary victories of the Japanese and German fascists, the leaders of the Vietnamese proletariat raised aloft the banner of national independence and democracy, called on the people to follow the proletarian line and sided definitely with the democratic camp having the Soviet Union as core.

It is precisely this correct line based on a correct international political line which has brought the August revolution to success.

The protracted resistance carried out by the Vietnamese people has become an integral part of the world proletarian movement; the great historic victory of the proletarian revolution in China has created favourable conditions to bring the Vietnamese resistance war to victory.

Only the Vietnamese proletariat has enjoyed this favourable international condition which was denied to all other social classes in Vietnam.

This substantiates that without the leadership of the proletariat, the national-liberation revolutionary movement in Vietnam could not succeed.

RAISE ALOFT THE BANNER OF LEADERSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Three years after the re-establishment of peace, our beautiful and heroic Fatherland has always raised aloft the banner of national independence and democratic peace and has contributed a worthy part to the cause of world peace. We have won the day, but liberated only half of our country. The other half still lies in the hands of the U.S. imperialist and Diem feudalist clique. The revolutionary task of all of us is to achieve national independence and democracy all over the country. This task lays ahead of us two concrete works: to build the North and take it vigorously to socialism and to step up the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam against U.S. imperialism and Diem's feudalism.

In order to carry through these two tasks, it is necessary to accelerate the patriotic movement* among the population; this movement is manifested concretely in the valiant creative labour of all the northern people in their advance to socialism, in the gradual improvement of the material and spiritual life of the people, in the measure to thwart the sabotage of U.S. imperialism and Diem's feudalism and to oppose speculative transactions. In the South this patriotism must be concretely manifested in the movement opposing the enslavement policy of the U.S.-Diem clique, claiming national independence, fighting the fascist policies, repression and oppression by the U.S. clique, demanding democracy, improvement of the people's livelihood, thwarting the U.S.-Diem's bellicose policy and claiming peaceful reunification of the country.

The historical lesson of the revolutionary movement for national liberation in Vietnam has shown that for the fulfilment of these revolutionary tasks, all the Vietnamese patriots must *hold aloft the banner of leadership of the proletariat* to advance to socialism, liberate South Vietnam and achieve independence and democracy throughout the country.

* In the feudal period, patriotism meant to be loyal to the king; under capitalism it meant to develop capitalism and make it serve the bourgeoisie. Under socialism, it means to work with devotion and initiative in order to improve the material and spiritual life of the people, to make the country rich and powerful and to serve world peace.

REVOLUTION IS THE WORK OF THE MASSES*

Since human society exists its history is made and constantly pushed forward by the masses. No great event nor revolutionary change in society is possible without the active participation and support of the masses.

But the decisive role of the masses was not realized from the outset. Out of their own interests the exploiting classes blurred the historical role of the masses whom they looked upon as dunces. Formerly due to their own class viewpoint and historical conditions, philosophers could not correctly realize the role of the masses whom they regarded just as negative or passive elements at the talented men's beck and call. This wrong viewpoint led former historians to record only the feats of individuals, heroes, kings and mandarins, or well-known generals, overlooking the role of the masses.

* Article written on the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (1958).

It was not until the birth of Marxism thousands of years after that the masses were recognized as makers of history. This discovery, Marx's important contribution, was made possible by the whole process of objective historical development during which the role of the masses became more and more conspicuous. When making the anti-feudal revolution the bourgeoisie had to seek the participation of the masses, who then began to be conscious of their own force and of the political struggle; after this revolution, they also won some democratic rights in many forms, thus drawing every one's attention to their role.

Simultaneously with the emergence and development of the great capitalist industrial production, the proletariat also came into being and grew ever stronger. The centralized labour and the struggle for daily interests, the organizational spirit, discipline and solidarity in fighting tempered in factories have gradually made the proletariat realize their huge strength and also the role of the masses. On the other hand, the more developed the capitalist society, the more acute the contradiction: the annihilation of capitalism and the certain victory of socialism are unavoidable, thus making the proletariat ever conscious of their own role and historical mission, and act more actively to impel the natural evolution of history.

The proletariat is the first class in the history of mankind to have correctly realized the huge force of the masses, and it is Marxism only, the theory of the proletariat, which can scientifically express the historical creative role of the masses.

Since there was a correct notion on the role of the masses and after it gripped hundreds of millions of people, history has changed with an unimaginable rapidity, the positive spirit and the revolutionary creativeness of the masses have shown themselves most powerful, the period of historical development has been shortened, especially in the revolutionary periods when one day is worth twenty former years. The Russian October Socialist Revolution first brought the masses to the position of masters of their own fate. And only forty years after this revolution, socialism has become a world system with over one-third of the population and over one-fifth of the territory of the globe. This is an unimaginable rapid leap in history, compared with the 150 years or 200 years capitalism had to take before it has become a world system. And if we take into account that the appearance of capitalism only aims at replacing an exploiting class by another, while the regime of exploitation of man by man itself relied upon private ownership of means of production remains unchanged, whereas socialism must wipe out the exploiting regime and that of private ownership of means of production established since thousands of years, and set up the regime of social ownership of means of production in so short a period, we see more clearly the strength and extraordinary creativeness of the masses once they realize that they must rise up to make their own history. Lenin said that revolution is a great festival of the oppressed and exploited people. Never are the people so active in creating the new social system as

in the revolutionary period. In such a period, people can do wonders.

Our millenary history has also proved the decisive role of the masses. For more than one thousand years our country was invaded and ruled by foreign feudals and our people had struggled heroically against the aggressors. The glorious deeds of two Trung Sisters,¹⁵ Heroin Trieu,¹⁶ Ly Thuong Kiet,¹⁷ Tran Hung Dao,¹⁸ Le Loi,¹⁹ Quang Trung,²⁰ etc. were also those of our people, but in our history the role of the masses was also overshadowed, and the masses themselves were not fully aware of their own strength. The dynasties which succeeded one another were precisely decided by the masses, but on the upshot it was the latter which were oppressed, despised, and considered as dunces.

In the period when our country was invaded by the French imperialists, many Vietnamese patriots called upon the masses to rise up and fight for independence, but they regarded them just as passive people and could not realize that the success of the national liberation was the fruit of their work. An important factor of the failure of various patriotic campaigns was that these patriots did not correctly see the decisive role and impact of the masses in the imperialist era.

Only with the founding of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party, based on Marxism-Leninism and the practical study of the Vietnamese history, could the Vietnamese communists correctly assess the role of the masses. For the first time in our history our Party has pointed out: "The revolution is the work of the

masses to liberate themselves, no hero can save them; only by raising their consciousness, organizing and uniting themselves under the leadership of the vanguard unit of the working class — the Indo-Chinese Communist Party — can they liberate themselves. The Party's revolutionary programme which was set forth in 1930 to overthrow the imperialists and feudals, establish the worker-peasant-soldier soviet power, and distribute land to the peasants, voiced confidence in and determination to rely upon the masses.

Facts have proved that though our economic development lagged behind imperialist France for hundreds of years, we succeeded in relying upon the immense and inexhaustible force of the masses, awakening their revolutionary positiveness, to speed up our advance by leaps and bounds. In a relatively short period we overthrew imperialism and the feudal power, liberated half the country and are taking it gradually to socialism, a higher stage of development, much more equitable, rational and beautiful social system than capitalism. Had it not been for the correct mass viewpoint, and the leadership according to the Party's mass line we could not win such great and rapid a victory.

II

Marxism-Leninism assesses that the history of mankind is that of a succession of methods of production, and of the producers and labouring people. To say that the masses create history is fundamentally to speak of the toiling masses.

In each historical stage the toiling masses differ from one another, therefore the contents of the conception of the masses also changes accordingly.

Under the millenary feudal regime the toiling masses were mainly peasants, the basic productive force of the society at that time.

Since the invasion of our country by the imperialists, in Vietnam, a colonial and semi-feudal country, the toiling masses consisted essentially of workers and peasants, with the latter accounting for the overwhelming majority. Therefore in the national-democratic revolutionary stage led by the Party the most fundamental prop for the struggle against French imperialists and reactionary feudals was but the peasants, a force which makes up 90 per cent of the population of our country.

The 1930 uprising to set up a soviet power in Nghe An was essentially an insurrection of peasants; the biggest force participating in the 1936-1939 democratic movement was also the peasants; the Nam Ky, Bac Son, etc. uprisings were fundamentally waged by the peasants; the founding of the Viet Bac free zone and the Vietnam Armed Propaganda Unit for National Liberation relied on the peasantry and the countryside; the August 1945 general insurrection to seize power was an uprising of the entire people, but the main force was the labouring people, and the great majority of them were peasants. Our protracted Resistance War which lasted nearly nine years was basically a guerilla warfare waged by the peasants, with the countryside as the mainstay and base from

which to encircle the towns, and the peasants contributing the greatest part of manpower and wealth to the Resistance War.

Realizing this great force our Party has assessed that the peasants were the main force of our national democratic revolution which was essentially a revolution of the peasants, under the leadership of the proletariat and its party.

As our Party stood firmly on the proletariat's mass standpoint it could clearly realize the broad mass character of our national democratic revolution. Our country was dominated and lost its independence, therefore every patriotic Vietnamese who approved of national independence could join the anti-imperialist force. On this national basis, we succeeded in establishing a broad unified national front including all classes, strata and patriots. The front was founded in the interest of the revolution, of the nation and also of the grassroot toiling masses. For the success of the revolution the grassroot masses could not be let alone but must have as many allies as possible, and even temporary and wavering ones must be won over. Experience has shown that only when the worker-peasant force is strengthened could we set up a firm unified national front. Inversely, if it was not strong the other strata of the people did not follow it, or wavered.

But the content of our revolution is not only national but also democratic. The aspiration of the masses, first of all the grassroot ones, was to be liberated from the imperialist and feudal yoke in order to improve their livelihood. To them patriotism

means the safeguard of the existence of the nation and also of their own existence and welfare. Regarding the overwhelming majority of our people — the peasants — their dearest aspiration was to have land, and to be freed from slavery, humiliation and misery. The peasants enthusiastically took part in the revolution as they were conscious of having land once the country had been independent. It is to satisfy this requirement that they have followed the proletariat and firmly built the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, through its Party — the Indo-Chinese Communist Party.

Without democratic rights the force of the masses could not be fostered, first of all the grassroot ones and the unified national front could not be consolidated. It is precisely to foster the most basic force of the revolution and the resistance — the peasantry — that we carried out land reform during the Resistance War to satisfy the peasants' requirements and bring the Resistance War to victory.

In short, only by standing on the class standpoint and mass viewpoint of the proletariat can we see clearly the strength of the masses, realize that the peasantry is the main force in the national democratic revolution, and grasp the class content in this revolution.

III

At present North Vietnam is gradually advancing to socialism. The revolution now underway is the most profound and greatest revolution in history. We

must abolish the economy based on the exploitation of man by man, turn the scattered individual economy into a socialist collective one; build and develop the socialist economy unceasingly to improve the labouring people's living conditions and make our people advance to a happier life.

The socialist revolution requires the development of the positiveness and the extraordinary creativeness of the toiling masses which are the most basic productive force of society. To this end, we must free the mind of millions of people formerly tied up within the narrow framework of small production and private economy, and transform the individualist and selfish ideology of the strata of people who lived on exploitation. We must build a new ideology, the socialist ideology, making it gain supremacy in society and become a strong mover to impel the toiling people to transform society, nature and themselves.

Such a revolution cannot succeed if it is not made by the conscious masses with a bold revolutionary spirit.

Therefore, first of all the toiling masses must seize power and use it as the main tool to transform the old economy and production and build new ones. We must grasp the class viewpoint in the setting up of power, see to it that power really belongs to the toiling masses, who will directly manage the state machinery and the economic and cultural structures of society and turn these organizations into revolutionary organizations of the toiling masses and into means to serve the productive labour of the masses and their

interests. It is wrong to think that the organizations of the state machinery can replace the masses who have to act on orders from upper level only. Every line, guiding principle, policy as well as the working method of the state organs which do not accord with the toiling masses' interests will create difficulties to the socialist revolution in the North, and can harm the common revolutionary work throughout the country. Therefore, the leading cadres of our Party and state organs must realize the interests of the toiling masses, form a solid bloc with them, and proceed from their interests and common work to set forth the lines and policies and solve the inner contradictions likely to arise between the state interests and those of the masses. Only by so doing can we mobilize the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and push forward socialist revolution.

*
* *

The toiling masses in socialist revolution are first of all the *working class*.

The socialist revolution in Vietnam as well as in all the countries throughout the world, must first and foremost rely upon the force of the working class, the most progressive and revolutionary class within the masses, the class the most representative of socialism, leading the socialist revolution and construction. Without the working class standpoint and ideology we cannot understand socialism. At present, human

society has only two paths: capitalism and socialism respectively represented by the bourgeoisie, and the working class.

The position of the working class is established not only in the political and ideological fields, but mainly in the economic field; the working class is the master of enterprises, mines, industrial branches, communications and transport. Without relying upon it there can be no great industry with high technique as a material and technical basis of socialism, nor satisfactory management of industry, etc. Though our socialist industry is still weak, it is developing day by day, and must become a force leading the whole economy. Only in such a way can the tempo of economy in general develop rapidly.

To us, agriculture is playing a role of utmost importance, and is the basis to push forward all national productive branches. At present our industry cannot develop smoothly without a prosperous agriculture because the consumption market of our manufacture is essentially the home market, first of all the countryside; moreover most of the raw materials and food supplied to industry, come from agriculture.

Therefore the *peasant* question is still a question of particular importance in the period of socialist revolution and construction in our country. Of more than 13 million people in North Vietnam* the peasants account for 12 million, and are the largest force. If we do not rely on them to build socialism, socialist

* At present the population of North Vietnam amounts to 15,916,000 (1962).

construction is then the work of a few only and not of the broad masses, and therefore cannot succeed. About the Chinese peasantry Mao Tse-tung has said: "Our country has over 500 million peasants, how their situation is is very important in relation to the economic development and the strengthening of power in our country*". This applies to our country: in the socialist revolution in North Vietnam every work must proceed from the interests of over 13 million people, including 12 million peasants.

The extremely rich experience of China in socialist construction has given us a very new conception about the path to build socialism in the countryside. Without machines the Chinese peasants could proceed to socialism through co-operativization. Recently after a political remoulding drive, their mind being set free, they have progressed by leaps and bounds. Land productivity has shown an increase unknown in the history of the country. The Chinese peasants have voluntarily pooled money, strength and raw materials for the construction of workshops, which have mushroomed in the countryside. In the leap-and-bound upsurge they have impelled culture rapidly to develop; they have not only wiped out illiteracy, vulgarized elementary education, but they have also opened high-education schools and vocational schools. In the Chinese countryside at present there is an intense movement to set up people's communes.

* Mao Tse-tung: *On the correct solution of the inner contradictions of the people*. Su That (Truth) Publishing House, Hanoi, 1957, page 24.

This experience has shown that once the broad peasant masses have been re-organized and roused, and their thinking liberated, their active militancy and creativeness in socialist construction are momentous.

The Vietnamese peasants, first of all the toiling peasants, possess revolutionary traditions. Since long they have followed our Party, and are united closely with the workers within the worker-peasant alliance to make revolution. Throughout the Resistance War and land reform their political and class consciousness have been raised markedly.

Though the poor toiling peasants have seen their living conditions much more improved after land reform, in general they are still in difficulty, the per capital and holding being three sao* for a poor peasant, and four sao for a middle peasant, that is why they also want to advance to socialism to secure a better life. As the peasant economy is a small-production economy still relied upon the private ownership system, they still are inclined to have private property, a number of well-off peasants want to grow rich in the capitalist way, therefore we must pay attention to their education and prevent their spontaneous tendency to capitalism. But the peasants' revolutionary positiveness is the main aspect. As the Party bases in the countryside have ever been strengthened, power and the peasant mass organization become strong with every passing day and really belong to the toiling peasants, we have all the posi-

* 1 sao : 360 sq.m.

tive factors to make the peasants join the movement for mutual exchange and co-operativization, and on this basis we rationally organize the labour force, improve technique, and impel the emulation movement for agricultural production to raise the peasants' living conditions and at the same time to push forward socialist revolution.

The Party's and Government's policies to speed up production, such as the policies on trade, finance, banking, etc., must suitably serve the movement for agricultural production and co-operativization. Our industry must also serve agriculture, supplying farm implements and fertilizers to it and solving the hydraulic problem for the peasants. On the basis of increased production and improved living conditions, the socialist consciousness will more deeply permeate the toiling peasants, curb their individualism and tendency to private ownership, and the socialist revolutionary wave in the countryside will at an appointed time, advance by leaps and bounds. If the Party's and Government's policies, and the means used by the economic and financial organs to carry them out do not meet the toiling peasants' interests, or they arouse their suspicion and disagreement, worse still, their opposition, it means we have not yet grasped the mass viewpoint in socialist revolution.

*
* *

Beside the peasants' small production gradually advancing to co-operativization, handicraftsmen are

also a fairly important productive force in the economy of our country. They supply the bulk of consumer goods to our people. The technique of handicraft production has a national characteristic. At present our handicraft production makes up 59 per cent of the industrial and handicraft output taken together, and caters for 465,000 toilers. The value of handicraft output is twice that of state industry output and the number of handicraftsmen are four times over the number of workers in state enterprises (statistical figures by the end of 1957).

The transformation of the small handicraft production into big socialist production is also a path to make the handicraftsmen willingly organize themselves into co-operatives and improve technique in order to ensure the production of consumer goods to meet the ever increasing needs of the people, secure jobs and the improvement of living conditions for the artisans, and the rational division of labour in our economy. We must help handicraftsmen organize themselves, improve technique and gradually mechanize their bases of production into industrial bases, utilizing machines in production. The experience gained by China in the building of small industrial bases everywhere has helped us realize the latent potentialities of our handicrafts in the process of industrial development in town and countryside.

In a country where the economy of small production still exists, the small traders are still indispensable in distribution. Their scattered trade is very favourable to the consumption of the people. In the conditions of a scattered countryside, with difficult communications

and an insufficient network of state trade and purchasing and marketing co-operatives, they have the effect of impelling the rural economy forward. At present, in North Vietnam they are still in great number (over 200,000 households), their income is not high — sometimes below 30,000 dongs a month* each, that is below the minimum wage of a low-level producer. They are toiling people, their transformation must go through the development of production, drawing them into various economic branches and production bases. They cannot be considered as the main object to be transformed like the capitalist industrialists and traders, so with regard to them as well as the peasants and handicraftsmen, we must make them realize the advantage in organizing themselves, and embarking in socialist production, and engaging in it of their own free will. They also belong to the family of toiling masses, socialism is also their source of happiness, and the guarantee of their bright future. Previously they went together with the working class, and contributed an active part to the insurrection to seize power; today in socialist revolution, they are also an integral part of the socialist toiling masses.

Therefore in the advance to socialism, we must provide the small traders and handicraftsmen with jobs to keep them up, this is also our Party mass line in socialist revolution.

It would be an unwise policy of ours if we reduce the masses of small traders and handicraftsmen to

* Now 30 dongs.

unemployment or raise difficulties in their trade. While advancing to socialism we must see to developing production, helping the small producers realize the advantage of big production and rational division of social labour; and ensure the subsistence and job to the masses, and must not act like the capitalists who run after profit without the least attention paid to the producers' fate.

The forces of the masses in socialist revolution and construction also include the revolutionary intellectuals, the intellectuals of the workers and peasants. Socialist revolution closely links with the rapid scientific and technical development, the all-round cultural development, to which the intellectuals give a very important contribution. But like any other revolution the cultural revolution must be made by the masses. The Party's slogan "To raise the cultural level of the workers and peasants and inculcate the worker-peasant standpoint on the intellectuals" is to set the problem of building up and developing culture on the basis of the toiling masses. This is also the Party mass line.

In short, according to our mass viewpoint socialist revolution is also the work of the toiling masses. Workers, peasants, urban and rural toilers, and revolutionary intellectuals, all belong to the family of the toiling masses. Only by paying attention to their aspirations and interests, can we rouse their determination and enthusiasm, and develop their inexhaustible creativeness to overcome all difficulties and speed up the revolution.

Only by relying on the enthusiasm and revolutionary determination of the toiling masses and the powerful pressure of the revolutionary movement they wage, can we make the national bourgeois willingly transform themselves and gradually join the toilers' rank.

In socialist revolution the unified front includes the toiling classes, and the self-transformed national bourgeois who have joined the rank of the toilers. It also includes all the brother nationalities living on an equal footing in Vietnam, the believers of various religions, and the Vietnamese residing abroad, who with concerted efforts build an abundant and happy life.

Any policy weakening this front is an obstacle, sometimes a danger to socialist revolution.

At present our country is temporarily partitioned in two zones, with two opposing political and economic systems.

North Vietnam is gradually advancing to socialism but South Vietnam is being under the U.S.-Diem rule. The South Vietnam people are making the national democratic revolution. Though the present situation and condition differ from the past the revolution in South Vietnam still follows the general law of national democratic revolution. Our Party's mass viewpoint in the national democratic revolution still suits South Vietnam in the main.

President Ho Chi Minh has often taught us: Revolution is the work of the masses to liberate themselves. The force of the masses is invincible.

The history of the world as well as that of our country have proved that once the force of the masses is roused, organized, and determined to rise up, it can overcome every difficulty, and do every work.

At present in the world, under the leadership of the communist parties, thousands of millions of people are heroically struggling for peace and socialism, a happy life and a glorious future. It is precisely this great force which has stayed the imperialists' hand and made them recoil. No doubt, the future belongs to the toiling people.

At home, under the leadership of the Party, the toiling masses have done their best in every respect to fulfil the state plan and contribute to the building of socialism as a basis of the struggle for national reunification, and have achieved many brilliant successes.

It is our firm belief that grasping thoroughly the working class' mass standpoint and viewpoint and Marxism-Leninism, our entire Party which is determined to rely upon the toiling masses, rouse their consciousness, and develop their boundless creativeness, will certainly take our socialist revolution and national reunification to a glorious success.

NOTES

NOTES

NOTES

1. **VAN THAN**: A patriotic movement of Vietnamese scholars (1885-1896).
2. **PHAN DINH PHUNG**: leader of an insurrection against the French colonialists (1885-1896). His men inflicted heavy losses on the French forces. He died of illness on January 21, 1896. As reprisals, the French colonialists burnt his body to ashes and mixed them with gunpowder.
3. **HOANG HOA THAM** or **DE THAM**: leader of a peasant insurrection against the French colonialists in Yen The (Bac Giang, North Vietnam). Started in 1887 this uprising lasted for thirty years. It had a great repercussion throughout the country and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. Hoang Hoa Tham was assassinated by a traitor on February 10, 1913.
4. **PHAN CHU TRINH** (1872-1926): a Vietnamese patriot who advocated a reformist bourgeois democracy.
5. **PHAN BOI CHAU** (1867-1941): leader of the Dong Du movement (Go East: Japan) and of many other campaigns against the French colonialists from 1904 to 1925. In 1925 he fell into a trap set in Shanghai by the French colonialists and was condemned to live in forced residence in Hue (Central Vietnam) where he died on October 29, 1941.
6. **YEN BAI INSURRECTION** broke out on February 9, 1930. Led by the Vietnam Nationalist Party, a political Party of the Vietnamese bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, it met with immediate failure. Some of its leaders were executed by the French colonialists.

7. **NGHE TINH SOVIET UPRISING**: In 1930 and 1931, under the leadership of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party, the workers and peasants, together with the people, rose against the French imperialists and the feudal court. This movement took place in Nghe An and Ha Tinh provinces (Central Vietnam) where it overthrew the colonial administration and set up a people's power. The colonialists drowned the movement in blood.
8. **NAM KY INSURRECTION** (Nam Bo or Cochin-China insurrection): breaking out on November 23, 1940 it was organized and led by the Nam Bo Committee of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party.
9. **BAC SON INSURRECTION**: Defeated by the Japanese at Lang Son, the French troops retreated to the delta on September 22, 1940; in crossing the district of Bac Son on September 27, 1940 they were disarmed by the local people who overthrew the colonial administration and set up a revolutionary power.
10. **NGUYEN AI QUOC**: Name under which President Ho Chi Minh was known before the August Revolution in 1945.
11. **VIETNAM QUOC DAN DANG** (Vietnam Nationalist Party) (1929-1931): A revolutionary organization led by petty-bourgeois intellectuals which made a national revolution of bourgeois democratic character. After its failure in the Yen Bai insurrection in February 1930, the French imperialists outrightly repressed its organs until its disintegration.
In 1931, this party ceased completely all activities.
12. **HOA HAO, CAO DAI**: Religious sects in South Vietnam having about one million followers from all sections of the population, most of them being oppressed poor peasants who were patriotic but superstitious people. They were misused by their leaders — wicked landlords and intellectuals who were dissatisfied with the colonialists and feudals. Later, these leaders surrendered to the French colonialists. Coming to power in 1954, Ngo Dinh Diem

repressed the religious sects. Ba Cut, a Hoa Hao general was sentenced to death. Cao Dai pope Pham Cong Tac fled to Cambodia where he died in 1959.

13. **VIET MINH LEAGUE**: Short for "League for the Independence of Vietnam" (Vietnam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi). Set up on May 19, 1941, it rallied all parties, classes, organizations of all sections of the population and progressive and patriotic notabilities and personalities for the struggle for national liberation.
14. **BA TO**: An uprising of the inhabitants of Ba To district (Quang Ngai province, Central Vietnam) which attacked a French post on March 11, 1945 and set up the revolutionary power. Later, owing to their weak force which could not be pitted against the Japanese fascists, the revolutionaries withdrew to the jungle and established a resistance base to wage guerilla warfare.
15. **THE TRUNG SISTERS**: In 40 A.D. these two national heroines led an armed insurrection against Chinese domination and liberated the country. Trung Trac, the elder, proclaimed herself Queen and set up her capital at Me Linh (Vinh Phuc province, North Vietnam). In 45 A.D., defeated by Ma Yuan's army, the two sisters committed suicide by throwing themselves into the Hat River.
16. **TRIEU** (True name: Trieu Trinh Nuong): Native of Thanh Hoa province (Central Vietnam), in 248 she led with her elder brother Trieu Quoc Dat an insurrection against Chinese domination. She was known for her courage and initiative. Her army being outnumbered, she committed suicide in Bo Dien village (Thanh Hoa province) at the age of 23.
17. **LY THUONG KIET**: Famous general of the Ly dynasty which ruled over Vietnam from 1010 to 1225. He performed brilliant feats of arms by defeating on the very Chinese territory the Soong army which was preparing an invasion against Vietnam.

18. **TRAN HUNG DAO** : National hero of the Tran dynasty who resisted the aggression of the Chinese Yuan dynasty in 1257, 1285 and 1287-1288, and won brilliant victories.
19. **LE LOI** : National hero who rose against the domination of the Ming, a Chinese dynasty. After ten years of resistance war, he freed Vietnam from the Chinese yoke and proclaimed himself emperor in 1428.
20. **QUANG TRUNG** (1752-1792) : Leader of the greatest peasant insurrection in Vietnam in the 18th century and founder of the Tay Son dynasty (1788-1802). In 1788, he proclaimed himself emperor ; he led the resistance against the Tsing, a Chinese dynasty, and marched to Hanoi where he cut to pieces a 200,000 strong army of the Tsing..

LE DUAN



ON THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM

VOLUME II

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CONTENTS

1 — Socialist industrialization, the common cause of the entire people	9
2 — Clearly to realize the contents of the movement for agricultural co-operativization.	38
3 — Some opinions on the movement for agricultural co-operativization.	56
4 — The working class and socialist industrialization	67
5 — To fully develop the peasant masses' revolutionary enthusiasm and create a strong revolutionary mettle in the countryside	91
6 — In the 1962 plan our industry must serve the development of agriculture with still greater efficiency	106
7 — Concentration of leadership, consolidation of co-operatives, determination to win decisive successes in agriculture in the coming years	125
8 — Enthusiastically to march forward to fulfil the First Five-Year Plan.. . . .	171

SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION, THE COMMON CAUSE OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE*

LINE AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION

Comrades,

The Third National Congress of the Party has laid down the line, tasks, and guiding principles for socialist industrialization. This time the Party Central Committee is meeting to embody these line and guiding principles in concrete forms and determine the practical steps. This is a hard and intricate work needing a study of the general Marxist-Leninist principles and of the experiences of the brother countries and their adequate application to the practical situation of our country. The realization of the law of development of our country is a process going from superficiality to profoundness, and from one-sidedness to

* Contribution at the Seventh Session of the Party Central Committee.

all-sidedness, therefore one cannot require that today we must fully realize all questions. We will gradually amend our policies in the course of practice.

In the formulation of the steps to follow, the beginning is the most difficult. When all countries have a material and technical basis of a somewhat high level, their laws of a further development can be generally much alike. But their first steps are quite different as they start from different bases.

I will express some views on the broad line for your consideration.

First, I will briefly deal with the notion regarding socialist industrialization. We have known that Karl Marx said that what makes one economic era differ from the other is the method of production and the means of production rather than the production itself. He also said that the passage from one economic system to another is a passage from one technique to another. In mankind's history the capitalist industrial revolution was the greatest technical revolution ever known at that time. The real nature of this revolution is the big leap from manual labour to mechanization. As Karl Marx said, that revolution created, in a relatively short period, huge productive forces one hundred and even one thousand times greater than all the productive forces mankind could create during countless centuries of labour. It was the most profound economic revolution leading to profound changes in all other fields of activities of the society. The most fundamental point in an industrial revolution is the development of heavy industry, that is the industry turning out means of production the

linch-pin of which is to create new means of production to *change the working method of man, it is also to change the relations between man and nature* to further develop man's abilities to harness nature, and increase labour productivity. In the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have carried on socialist industrialization and made technical revolution aimed at building the material and technical basis of socialism, and created new productive forces to help labour productivity rise higher than under capitalism. Therefore, with regard to the Soviet Union and all other countries which have to carry on socialist industrialization the priority development of heavy industry is a general and universal law. With regard to the north of our country, the Third National Congress of the Party have also asserted that the key work in socialist industrialization is priority development of heavy industry. Priority development of heavy industry is a policy originating from the objective necessity of building for our country a sovereign economy. We are building socialism at a time when there exists a world system of socialist countries and mutual assistance and co-operation between our country and the brother socialist countries, and this mutual assistance and co-operation is developing with every passing day. But in this socialist system, our country, like others, is *an economic unit developing according to universal laws and to the laws particular to itself*. On the basis of these laws, our task is rationally to organize and utilize the labour power of our country and

all-sidedness, therefore one cannot require that today we must fully realize all questions. We will gradually amend our policies in the course of practice.

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exploit its natural resources, with greatest economic and political efficiency; only by so doing can we create bases for the expansion of the most rational co-operation with the brother socialist countries. *This is the very contents of the building of a sovereign economy.*

But what is not clearly understood is the goal and purpose of the development of heavy industry. We know that all the social production is in the last analysis aimed at satisfying the people's requirements in food, housing, clothing, health protection, education and national defence... The role of heavy industry is to create means to expand this social production; therefore the development of heavy industry is to reach no other goal and solve no other problem than to meet those requirements.

The capitalist countries carry out industrialization spontaneously, according to the law of value, of profit. As a rule these countries began to develop light industry. At a certain period, due to the requirements of the development of light industry or agriculture, they began to develop heavy industry which turned out means of production to equip light industry or agriculture, then in case of necessity, they developed the branches turning out means of production. For arms build-up to serve war of aggression and wars to seize colonies and to divide spheres of influence, certain countries developed heavy industry early. Arms race is one of the factors boosting heavy industry to develop rapidly.

The Soviet Union is the first socialist country carrying out socialist industrialization, in the first

period this industrialization served the following urgent political tasks: To complete within a very short period of time the rapid building of a comprehensive and powerful system of heavy industry to ensure national defence, economic independence, and the complete success of socialism in the country. Therefore, in the first period, strenuous efforts were devoted to building heavy industry.

What the Soviet Union did was indispensable and most correct. This has enabled the Soviet Union successfully to build socialism in the encirclement of capitalism. Better still, it could defeat fascism in World War II and create conditions for the emergence of the socialist camp.

We are carrying on socialist industrialization in an international situation which differs from that the Soviet Union was in. We belong to the powerful socialist camp endowed with a modern industry and advanced science and technology. The urgent building of a heavy industry to serve our national defence and economic independence, is not for us a problem quite similar to that solved by the Soviet Union formerly.

For us the development of heavy industry is mainly aimed at serving the people's requirements in food, housing, clothing, education, etc. For the establishment of such an independent economy we will build a system of heavy industry to serve as foundation for our national economy, but its structure and size must correspond to our conditions and requirements and to the co-operation within the socialist camp. Our heavy industry will be relatively comprehensive and

will cover those branches which our country must necessarily build and has conditions to build, but in each branch we will build only what is essential and can be developed; we will endeavour to expand what suits our country best. The Third National Congress of the Party has pointed out that one of the guiding principles of socialist industrialization in our country is to give priority to a rational development of heavy industry.

TECHNICAL REVOLUTION IN OUR COUNTRY

The substance of *socialist industrialization is technical revolution*. The problem is to find an appropriate line for this technical revolution in our country.

The fundamental characteristic of the socialist revolution in our country is to advance toward socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development. But what does this bypassing of capitalist development consist of? Some people believe that the best and most economical way for us and for our entire camp is to utilize the assistance of the socialist camp and to carry out the division of labour in this camp. In my opinion, such an assertion is not quite correct. The assistance of and the co-operation with the socialist camp creates for us the possibilities and conditions to bypass the stage of capitalist development and directly advance toward socialism. As to the absence of this stage, it *originates mainly from a small individual production and not from a large-scale capitalist production to proceed to a large-scale*

socialist production and not to a large-scale capitalist production.

Capitalism proceeds to large-scale production by means of ruining, plundering and strangling small production by non-economic manoeuvres: violence, and by economic competition.

But we cannot do like capitalism because by so doing we will commit a great crime in the economic and political fields and go counter to the goal and nature of socialist economy. We take small production to large-scale socialist production, making it grow into large-scale socialist production parallel with the building of the bases for the large-scale socialist production in agriculture, construction, transport and communications, trade, etc. To bring about this growth, we have carried on socialist transformation in combination with socialist construction. Socialist transformation is aimed at turning capitalist production relations into socialist production relations under the form of joint state-private exploitation but in the main it is aimed at organizing the individual farmers and handicraftsmen into co-operatives which are collective production units growing from small to medium and large size. This organization is a transformation of the production relations but at the same time it is also the building of a collective production. At present our socialist transformation has been completed in the main, the new socialist production relations which appear under the national and collective forms have won supremacy but still rely mostly on manual labour.

At present the requirements of the development of revolution is to take socialist construction as the central tasks and to rely on these new socialist production relations to carry on technical revolution, thus *transforming all the present social manual production into a large-scale mechanized production. This is the main contents of the technical revolution we are carrying on.* Some comrades understand naively that socialist industrialization is the building of large-scale and modern enterprises, or the raising of industrial output higher than agricultural output, etc., they do not have a comprehensive notion with regard to handicrafts and agriculture and do not realize their responsibility of technically improving handicrafts and agriculture, and gradually equipping them during the process of development of our modern industry. We must build new enterprises turning out means of production and the bases for heavy industry which so far do not exist in our country. Only by so doing can we re-equip the whole of our economic branches. Moreover, due to the assistance and co-operation of the socialist camp, we are able rapidly to build new and modern industrial enterprises endowed with a high technique. But this is not all the contents of technical revolution. This content is in the main to re-equip all the branches of national economy with new technique. We must develop the existing capacities of our economy and endeavour to build new industrial bases to serve this re-equipment. Simultaneously with the assistance and co-operation of the socialist camp, we can rapidly equip many productive branches which

are badly in need of new technique before we have a complete system of heavy industry. However, we cannot in a short time provide new technique to all economic branches, hence, adequate steps must be taken: *besides the highly modern technique, we must take many productive bases to semi-mechanization, or* continue to utilize the indigenous method but with a new labour organization, that is to say in our advance, there must be great leaps from manual labour to mechanization and at the same time gradual progress from manual labour to semi-mechanization and then to mechanization. In a not very short period of time, manual and semi-mechanized production still account for a fairly large proportion and play an important role in the social production as a whole.

The technical revolution we are carrying out is a great revolutionary leap from manual labour to mechanized labour, therefore in consideration of the history of development of the productive forces, this great leap is tantamount to the capitalist industrial revolution. There are techniques which in the world have become backward but still remain effective with us; for example steam-engines have become obsolete in many countries but are still indispensable to us. However our technical revolution is being carried out in an era in which the world productive forces have reached a very high level and a new technical revolution has taken place such as automation, utilization of new sources of energy and new artificial raw materials, etc. Hence we can soon be acquainted with the latest scientific and technical achievements in electrification, automation, chemistry, and their

application to production. All this depends on our own efforts and our abundance in material, technique and cadres. At the initial stage to build the material and technical basis of socialism, naturally mechanization is our basic work. We must build the bases of heavy industry indispensable to mechanization, first of all the engineering branch, and other branches such as metallurgy, electricity, a number of basic chemicals which will serve engineering. These are also indispensable bases which will help us master higher technique because with these initial bases we will be in a position to develop whatever industrial branches which fall in line with our resources. Parallel with the building of these bases, we must see to what is necessary for the mastering of new technique. In my opinion we must push electric power forward not one step but two or three steps, and endeavour to train scientific and technical cadres as soon as possible.

LINE OF SOCIALIST ACCUMULATION

Another question which must be clarified is *socialist accumulation*. We have known that the equipment of the national economy with new technique and the priority development of heavy industry require huge capitals for enlarged reproduction. Modern technique of production requires a very large system of heavy industry whose building needs big capitals. If we cannot solve the problem of accumulation we cannot speak of socialist industrialization. Then what should be our line for accumulation?

The capitalists formerly solved the problem of accumulation for industrialization by means of exploiting the inhabitants of their own countries, of their colonies and of other countries... We cannot apply these line and method of accumulation, but the socialist ones.

Over the past years, we have enjoyed the assistance of the brother socialist countries under the form of aid without repayment. At present and in the future we continue to receive this assistance under the form of long-term loans and other forms. These are important sources of accumulation. Nevertheless, this great assistance cannot replace the accumulation made by our own economy. We must realize that the accumulation made in our country is essential. The source of this accumulation is our people's labour. The objective requirements of production and enlarged reproduction want that one part of the total amount of wealth created by the people's labour in each period must be used to compensate the means of production which have been used up (seeds, raw materials, wear and tear of machines, etc.), ensure the activities of the state managerial apparatus and the reserve to face natural calamities or other unexpected plights. The remaining is to satisfy private and social consumption and to accumulate fund for enlarged reproduction. In substance this accumulation derives from the surplus-value of the labour devoted to society. Our superiority over capitalism consists in that our accumulation is concentrated in the hands of the state and co-operatives. But at present, as the work in our society is essentially done by hand and yields

a very low productivity, what remains after consumption is too small and offers no great possibility for accumulations. To accumulate fund our people must have high sense of economy. We must practise thrift in production (raw materials and machines, rationalization of production...) and in consumption. Our policy is not to sacrifice consumption for the sake of accumulation; it is always to realize a fair ratio between accumulation and consumption in accordance with the economic and political situation of each stage, in order unceasingly to raise the people's living standard and increase accumulation to develop production. The constant raising of the people's living standard is a requirement of the fundamental economic law of socialism; only by improving the people's livelihood can we strongly spur their zeal in production, but the constant development of production is also another requirement of this law; without the development of production the people's living standard cannot be raised constantly. In the first state of socialist industrialization, as social production and the people's living standard are still low, we must keep the ratio between accumulation and consumption in the spirit of gradually improving the people's livelihood and strictly practising thrift. As conditions do not yet allow us to have good food and fine clothes we must content ourselves with plain food and simple clothes; high quality goods which are not yet essential must be limited, products which have a high export value and whose usage can be dispensed for the time being in the country should be reserved for exportation at any cost, goods which can be produced

locally are not to be imported... At the same time we must utilize the funds accumulated in such a rational way that no money should be used in the wrong place... But economy itself is confined in the existing wealth and does not engender new wealth. Only by getting new wealth can we unceasingly increase accumulation and multiply our capitals. Therefore the main source of accumulation is unceasingly to *raise labour productivity*.

First we must raise labour productivity in each production unit: factory, mine, co-operative, etc. There the most fundamental method to increase labour productivity is gradually to improve equipment, in accordance with the line set for our technical revolution. To this end particular attention must be paid to the full use of the engineering capacities existing in our country, including the machines run centrally, locally and those of the co-operatives. We must not rely essentially on the importation of machines and equipment. We must attach great importance to minor technical innovations and the vulgarization of semi-mechanized tools, because this is what we can do on a large scale at present. To increase labour productivity in each production unit, we must raise the cultural level of the workers and peasants, urge them to make good use of tools and machines and to improve technique. We must organize the work efficiently, rationalize production, improve management and better business accounting operations. We must endeavour to make each factory, each co-operative... a paying proposition.

It is not enough to increase labour productivity in each production base, we must also increase social labour productivity, that is to say we must do in such a way that with the same number of toiling people, the wealth produced by the society increases. To score this achievement we must rationally utilize social labour.

A marked characteristic of our country is the irrational utilization of manpower in the delta countryside. Nearly 86 per cent of the toiling people that is to say 88 per cent of the population go in for agriculture to till only 12 per cent of the land in the North as a whole. In 1961, each toiling people worked only 130 days. Of course the labour situation is at times pressing, especially when the busy field work must be finished in a short time to keep pace with the seasonal crops such as tilling, transplanting, harvesting, dike building, fighting against drought, etc. If we can do in such a way that six million and a half peasants work not only 130 days but 200 in a year and besides if the value of a working day rises from one dong to two dongs for example, then it is clear that the social labour productivity will increase sharply without new technique. The trend for a solution is, parallel with intensive culture and multiplying of seasonal crops, we must endeavour to develop stock-breeding, side-occupation, handicrafts, and in particular we must shift an important quantity of manpower from the delta to develop economy in the midland and mountain regions and to build industry. For this purpose new equipment and means of production must be used in indispensable works, for example we

must know what work in the countryside must be partially mechanized or mechanized in order to regulate the requirement in manpower round the year, thus avoiding the situation that manpower is at times in excess or wanting, and to supply fertilizers and semi-mechanized and mechanized tools for afforestation and exploitation of the mountain regions, etc. To satisfy these needs, we must endeavour to develop the capacities of the industry which turns out means of production, timely build a number of essential bases and if necessary we can rely on the assistance and co-operation of brother countries.

Here we can realize the effectiveness of minor solutions. The addition of a small quantity of new equipment and materials to a certain work and at a right place often helps spare tens of thousands of workers who will be employed to create an important volume of new wealth. To satisfy these requirements, we often have only to exploit the capacities of the existing bases producing means of production or to make relatively small investments.

To speak of our economic potentialities is to speak of this point. We enjoy many favourable natural conditions and have manpower in excess. We just need to introduce certain means into certain works to utilize manpower more rationally and exploit our natural resources more efficiently. To carry out a good economic management we must realize these points and solve them satisfactorily; we must work out adequate plans for each year and each quarter of the year...

We must think of the result of the increase of social labour productivity to calculate profits and losses. A number of our comrades calculate profits and losses narrow-mindedly. For example they want to buy foreign goods which they think are cheaper than local ones. They do not realize that locally-made goods are more expensive but absorb more manpower in the country. This will directly create more wealth for the society, moreover it will exert a good influence on many other works. For example a number of people, newly engaged in production will see their own incomes and those of their family or of their collectivity increase and once their incomes are increased, they will either have products in excess to sell on the market or see their requirements increased, and both cases are new incentives for the development of production in other branches, and as a result the social wealth will increase beyond prediction. There are comrades who think that goods produced by manual labour are more expensive than by machines, therefore they only advocate the building of modern plants and belittle the development of handicrafts, etc.

We must stand on the footing of collective masters of the social economy as a whole including the state-run sector and the collective sector to think of profits and losses. We must consider the profits and losses not only of a certain branch but of the social production as a whole; we must consider each economic activity and see whether or not it can step up the whole of social production at the most rapid rate; we

must have a general view of the process of social production and reproduction and do in such a way that each of our economic activities which has an impact on other branches, will in the end help bring about enlarged reproduction on a largest scale. There can be certain activities which bring in profits for a particular branch but exert a bad influence on other branches and in the end make the whole process of production and reproduction increase slowly or stagnate. We must not embark on these activities. On the contrary there are other economic activities which do not bring in profits for a certain branch but exert a good influence on other branches and in the end boost the social enlarged reproduction on a larger scale. We must carry on these activities. Hence a number of plants though not bringing in profits must be built because they will increase social labour productivity, especially the plants serving agricultural production, though it seems that some of them considered individually, do not bring in profits.

In short, our fundamental line of accumulation is to strive to improve technique in all social production units at the same time to make the most rational use of the existing manpower and wealth and exploit our resources to the best. Especially we must pay particular attention to improving technique, utilizing manpower and exploiting agricultural resources. This line of accumulation and that of technical revolution are clearly in perfect harmony. In conditions of our too backward economy, we must highly value any productive force, be it small, and seek ways and means to develop it. We must not stunt it.

Socialist industrialization is also a new *division of social labour*. The passage from small production to large-scale socialist production is obviously a change in the division of social labour. The technical revolution changes the relations between man and nature; this change will certainly entail a change in the economic relations between men, including the division of social labour. The further the technical revolution advances the more the division of social labour will develop and the social production will be divided into many branches, many new branches of production will come into being, the proportion of the workers in the productive branches will change, a major part of manpower will be transferred to the new branches of production... This change in the division of social labour makes the proportion of workers in the branches of consumer goods industry (including food) decrease with every passing day, while increasing in the branches turning out means of production. Therefore, a fundamental condition which will help carry out this change in the division of social labour is to do in such a way that labour productivity in agriculture and light industry will increase day by day, hence we must attach the greatest importance to improving technique in agriculture and light industry, first of all in agriculture.

As I have said above, the countryside is at present absorbing the greatest part of social labour. In the process of technical revolution, due to the improvement of production technique in agriculture, an ever greater number of agricultural workers will be in excess, this manpower in excess must be used in new

work. Besides engaging them in industry, in the first period we must utilize the major part of this manpower for the economic development of the mountain regions and the exploitation of the coastal areas. Though in the first period, the greater part of these new works still rely on manual labour and semi-mechanization, they also contribute to increase social wealth.

In short, proceeding from the line of technical revolution and that of accumulation and from the change in the division of social labour, we can conclude that in the socialist industrialization of our country, simultaneously with modern mechanization, the taking of manual production to semi-mechanized production is very important in the first period, the scale of development of our industry must go parallel with the building of large-scale enterprises. While the greatest importance must be given to the medium and small-size enterprises and while building new enterprises we must do our utmost to effectively exploit and develop the existing enterprises.

RELATIONS BETWEEN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

Now I will speak of the *relations between industry and agriculture*. While dealing with the technical revolution, the line for accumulation and the new division of labour, we have touched on the question

of agriculture; it is clear that the technical revolution, the line for accumulation and the new division of labour require the development of agriculture.

Concerning the relations between agriculture and industry, the Third National Congress of the Party has clearly pointed out that industry, especially heavy industry, plays the leading role in national economy, and agriculture is the basis for industrial development.

We know that to ensure their industrial revolution the capitalist countries have created for themselves an agricultural basis through the traditional exploitation of colonial agriculture or they have begun vigorously to develop agriculture in their own country. During the period of socialist industrialization, the Soviet Union, for reasons which have been clearly expounded, had to suffer to some extent from the slow development of agriculture to concentrate its forces in the building of heavy industry. We must also realize that when beginning socialist industrialization the Soviet Union had a fairly steady agricultural basis. (Following are some figures of agriculture production in 1913 in terms of the present boundaries: the per capita average of land holding was three-fourths of an hectare, the per capita average of grain production was 540 kilos, of potatoes 200 kilos, meat 31.4 kilos, milk 185 kilos, eggs 75 pieces. In 1928, the first year of the First Five-Year Plan agricultural production as a whole was restored to the level prior to World War I.) However the Soviet

Union also formulated that agriculture was the basis of socialist industrialization*.

We have started from a very backward agriculture. Up to date, our people have made great efforts in the development of the new productive forces which are the co-operatives covering a whole hamlet, and have recorded very important achievements — in spite of countless natural calamities, the value of agricultural production has increased yearly at the rate of 5 per cent on the average, which is not low—but, basically speaking, our agriculture is still backward and its material and technical basis too small and weak. A very striking characteristic of our agriculture, which we have to realize fully is that the per capita average of land holding is three “sao”, that is to say one-tenth of an hectare. There has not been so far any country which carries on socialist industrialization on such a small and weak agricultural basis as ours!

We are facing great political and economic requirements, namely the consolidation of the new production relations in the countryside, the keywork of which being the increase of labour productivity which will be served as a basis to raise the co-op members' income and to show the co-operatives' supremacy over the individual farming of the middle peasants. This requires that we must make the greatest efforts to

* But, as Stalin said when dealing with national industrialization and the rightist tendency in the Party, we must not forget that if industry is the main foundation, agriculture is the base for its development.

rapidly supply equipment, material and new technique to agriculture.

We are also facing the need of raising the living standard of the people in the northern part of our country who are very poor, to satisfy the objective requirements of the fundamentals of socialist economy and to make the North a firm basis for the struggle to peacefully reunify the country. We must raise the people's living standard while the northern population increases at the rapid rate of half a million a year! This also requires that we must do our utmost rapidly to develop agriculture, because the people's livelihood is directly determined by the rate of development of agriculture.

We start developing industry on the background of an agricultural economy. To say that agriculture is the basis for industrial development means that first of all, agriculture must supply foodstuffs for industry to develop. Due to the industrial development, an ever increasing number of workers are shifted to industry, especially heavy industry, hence we must supply them with foodstuffs. It can be said that the three main raw materials for heavy industry are iron and steel, fuel and foodstuffs. If agriculture does not develop and foodstuffs, especially the marketable ones, do not increase, heavy industry cannot develop. To say that agriculture is the base for industrial development also means that it is an outlet for industrial products. We say that socialist industrialization expands the home market, and the biggest home market for industry at present is agriculture. Only when agriculture develops, labour productivity in agriculture increases thereby

making it possible for accumulation of funds to raise in industry, can agriculture be able to consume industrial products such as fertilizers, insecticides, mechanized and semi-mechanized tools, etc. Only by having enough and to spare can the peasants consume a great quantity of the goods produced by light industry which must also develop before it can become a market for heavy industry. On the other hand, to speed up the development of light industry, we must first speed up the development of agriculture because 80 per cent of the raw materials needed by light industry, are supplied by agriculture. Therefore only by making agriculture prosperous can industry develop vigorously.

At present industrial revolution is carried on parallel with agricultural revolution. Co-operativization has been completed in the main and is proceeding to higher level and technical revolution has begun. We must make these revolutions closely link to and impel each other; while developing, industry gradually helps satisfy the requirements of the revolution in agriculture; vice-versa in its process of development, agriculture gradually contributes to satisfying the requirements of revolution. Only by so doing can we progress most harmoniously.

We must try to develop agriculture in accordance with the trend laid down by the Fifth Session of the Party Central Committee. We must raise labour productivity in agriculture. A most important work is to do in such a way that the co-operatives produce more goods. Therefore, on the one hand, we must

endeavour to develop the potential forces in agriculture, the keywork at present being the active improvement of the management of co-operatives. With the development of these potentialities, we can make agriculture develop more vigorously while our industry is not yet fully developed. On the other, we must develop the existing forces of industry, meanwhile we will strive rapidly to build the heavy industry enterprises which we must and can build in order to supply equipment and materials to agriculture. Concerning the urgent need in equipment which cannot yet be supplied by our country we must rely on the co-operation with the brother countries to make it partly available. Besides the building of centrally-run enterprises, we must develop the local ones to produce mineral and chemical fertilizers and insecticides. Especially we must improve farm implements most rationally and on this basis we will build a network of engineering workshops down to districts and villages, to make and repair rudimentary implements, improved implements and semi-mechanized farm tools, thus serving the semi-mechanization and mechanization of the main works in irrigation, agricultural production, processing of agricultural products, and the shifting of manpower to mountain and coastal areas for the economic development there.

In short, in the first period of the building of the material and technical basis for socialism, we must correctly handle the relations between industry and agriculture simultaneously with the active building of the first bases for heavy industry. We must make

full use of our abilities to speed up agricultural development and help our economy do away with the present serious discrepancy, thus creating conditions to basically satisfy the people's daily requirements in food, clothing and housing, and to establish the bases for a vigorous and all-sided development of economy to strongly push forward socialist construction.

SOME PROBLEMS OF LEADERSHIP OVER ORGANIZATION AND IDEOLOGY

Comrades,

Socialist industrialization is a very profound revolutionary change from backward handicrafts to modern mechanized production, from small scattered individual production to large-scale collective production according to plans. This revolutionary change requires a *cultural and ideological revolution*, and a far-reaching revolutionary movement among the people, at the same time there must be a change in organization and leadership. Here I would like to express some *views about leadership, organization and ideology*.

We must *thoroughly grasp the guiding principle of democratic centralism in leadership and direction in industry*. First of all, we must clearly define the responsibility of the Party committees and the state organs. With regard to industry like to other activities of the society, the role of the Party committees

is, in general, leadership and control, whereas the role of the administrative authorities at different levels is direction in execution. We must further reinforce the leadership of the Party with regard to industry. Therefore we must reinforce the special organs attached to the Central Committee such as the Committee for Industry, the State Planning Board, the State Scientific Board; the regional town and province Party committees must pay more attention to leading industry, especially the Hong Quang, Hanoi and Haiphong Party committees must take the leadership in industry as their greatest task. Another problem which must be actively solved is the decentralization in the management of industry. We must clearly assess the development of centrally-run and local industry to determine the decentralization in the management of industry. We must soon define the responsibility of the various Party committees and local administrations for the centrally-run enterprises seated in their respective localities. Besides leadership and control and the management of the building and development of local industry and co-operatives, the Party committees and local administrations must be entrusted with the task of participating in the building of plans, the control of the execution of the Party's line and policies, the state plans, regulations and systems in the centrally-run enterprises seated in the localities.

At present, the machinery for the management of industry at the central level has a big personnel but its organization is not yet rational and somewhat scattered, its branches do not dovetail and are not

well coordinated; we must do our utmost to overcome this state of things.

Whether or not the Party's line and guiding principles on the industrial build-up and development, and the state plans for production can be carried out satisfactorily is, in the last analysis, due to the leadership and direction, the management of enterprises and construction sites. Therefore a most important problem to be solved is reinforcement of the leadership and management at the bases. We must work in accordance with the spirit of the resolution of the Political Bureau in February 1961. On the one hand, we must strengthen the role of collective leadership of the Party committees at the bases, correctly develop the role of the masses in their participation in the management of enterprises, and the role of the trade unions in encouraging, organizing and educating, and the leading role of the Youth Union, but, on the other hand, we must fully heighten the responsibility of the directors in the guidance of production, management and business, overcome all manifestations of irresponsibility, a serious phenomenon at present in a number of enterprises, construction sites, as well as all manifestations of arbitrariness and bureaucracy.

The technical revolution like any other revolution, is the work of the masses. There must be a *profound change in the* consciousness and ideology of the masses, we must help the masses have ideas: the sense of collective masters, the spirit of self-reliance, industriousness and thrift in national construction, courage in labour, the sense of organization and discipline.

These are ideas in line with the new production relations, at the same time they are ideas required at present by technical revolution. We have begun to promote those ideas in the ideological remoulding of the last year, today, we must strongly push forward this ideological revolution to make it more far-reaching...

We must educate the entire people in the line and guiding principles for socialist industrialization, the line for technical revolution and for socialist accumulation, make them realize that socialist industrialization is the common task of the entire people aimed at building up the happiness of the entire people and making the North a strong base for the struggle to reunify our country by peaceful means. We must strive to do away with any wrong notions concerning socialist industrialization and the sign of dependence on others, laziness, lack of responsibility, liberalism and indiscipline, parochialism, corruption, waste, etc.

To translate the Party's resolution into the determination of the entire people and the seething emulation movement of the masses, we must, parallel with ideological education, encourage and organize everybody to make efforts in raising their cultural, scientific and technical level, at the same time we must strive gradually to raise the people's living standard according to the development of production. Only on the basis of improving the people's livelihood can we step up ideological revolution unceasingly.

Comrades,

Socialist industrialization is a long-term, hard and complicated but very glorious task of the entire Party and people. Our Party's experiences in leading, building and developing industry are still poor. We must try to learn in order to make our Party's leadership more and more accurate. Our people are very revolutionary, we are enlightened by Marxism-Leninism, and enjoy the experiences and assistance of the brother socialist countries, if we are resolute to learn so as to grasp the realities of our country, we are sure to achieve successes. No doubt we will complete socialist industrialization, build the North into a socialist country endowed with modern industry, modern agriculture, advanced science and culture, help our people get rid definitely of poverty, backwardness and advance to abundance, happiness and civilization, thus making the North a strong base for the struggle to reunify our country by peaceful means.

CLEARLY TO REALIZE THE CONTENTS OF THE MOVEMENT FOR AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVIZATION*

CONTENTS OF THE MOVEMENT FOR AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVIZATION OF OUR COUNTRY

In my recent visit to some localities, I saw that many comrades did not clearly understand the contents of the movement for agricultural co-operativization. Generally speaking, they have realized only one aspect of this problem, which is the transformation of production relations. But even in this respect, their understanding is not yet thorough. Consequently shortcomings have appeared in many localities in such work as the application of policies, the working methods, etc.

First, the co-operativization referred to here is a revolution: the transformation of production relations. What are its contents?

* Speech delivered at the conference for agricultural co-operativization in North Vietnam held in March 21, 1960.

From the period of slavery to feudalism and capitalism, human society went through three kinds of production relations based mainly on exploitation: exploitation of surplus labour by slave-owners; exploitation of land rent by the feudals and exploitation of surplus-value by the capitalists. At present in our country the production relations are: the relation between labour and exploitation, the relation between individual production and collective production, and the relation between the people who have ample means and those who have small means of production. Our opposition to the relation of exploitation in the countryside is perfectly correct. Though weak in our country the rich peasants must be curbed so as to abolish the exploitation by their economy and to transform their ideology. Our opposition to spontaneous capitalism is also to differentiate between the exploiters and the exploited to curb and finally to wipe out exploitation. But this is not sufficient. We must also solve the problem of production relations between individuals and collectivities. Agricultural co-operativization is the transformation of individual production into collective production, it is the concentration of labour power and means of production for common work. In low-level co-operatives, means of production still remain private property and yield the owners from 25 to 30 per cent of the benefit derived from their land. Land-poor peasants, lower-middle peasants and other middle peasants voluntarily co-operate with one another to work in common, each receiving the fruit of his labour. This is only co-operation in labour, and not in means of production,

between the toiling peasants who voluntarily organize themselves under the leadership of the Party of the working class to develop production; it absolutely differs from the relation between landlords and peasants, and between capitalists and proletarians. Therefore, it cannot be brought about like in land reform for example, by means of overthrowing the opponent party, but by education, persuasion, and by the change and transformation of individual production into collective production. The low-level, semi-socialist co-operatives, effective only in speeding up production to a certain rate, cannot completely and immediately wipe out the former method of production.

As is known, co-operatives are part of the new method of production. The elaboration of this new method of production is a very important, very great revolution. It is not easy to transform a method of production which has become a millenary tradition. It is a shortcoming if we fail to realize and grasp all this vital point and have only a superficial knowledge of the relation between individuals and collectivities.

Co-operativization is the change of the old into new method of production. The newest thing is the shifting from individual to collective production, from the management of the labour power of a family to the management of that of a larger collectivity. Naturally when there are many people, there are more innovations and greater force, common work is better than private work. But together with collective work there will crop up many new problems. To enable co-operatives to show their superiority, we must know how to

organize and manage labour power, and improve technique. In some places, this work has daily caused a great waste of working hours and sometimes delay in crop planting. Thus, superiority is not easily obtained. If the leaders fail to see the new problem or do not solve it satisfactorily, they will be unable to promote the superiority of co-operatives.

To show the superiority of co-operatives, we must make every peasant, every co-op member well aware of the path they are following, and determined to overcome difficulties in order to build good co-operatives. The ideological work in the agitation for agricultural co-operativization poses two problems.

First, we must help all peasants realize that individual production is not advantageous, and that they should and must work collectively. We have dealt with the individual and the collective roads, and with the capitalist and the socialist roads and have shown the disadvantages of capitalist production and the advantages of socialist production to the peasants. Who are these peasants? — They are the land-poor and the lower-middle ones. We take the reality of a society under the capitalist system, to show them the cause of their poverty and misery, and point out that socialism is the only road to bring them happiness and abundance. But they are not bourgeois, they are only poor small producers. The land-poor and the lower-middle peasants have no bourgeois and exploiting ideas, on the contrary they have a deep hatred for capitalism and exploitation. Therefore we should not discuss with them about the two roads: one to poverty and the other to exploitation. We must tell

them about the road to poverty and the other to abundance. By so doing we will help them see their future.

In some places, the cadres tell the poor peasants that they should not enrich themselves, thus curbing their production, and making them anxious whether in future they will have a pond to rear fish, a brick house and a tiled courtyard. Due to an erroneous criticism and an insufficient explanation, they misunderstand that to speed up production in order to improve their living conditions is capitalism. We must show them clearly that individual production is not good, though it cannot be regarded as bad. It is very hard for the peasants to understand that individual production is bad, because they do not realize why it is bad to till one's own land to get a living without exploiting other people? Therefore we will just tell that individual production is not only disadvantageous but also dangerous, because it will gradually reduce their offsprings to poverty and ignorance and even their wives will have no money to buy medicine when falling ill. . . . Due to our inadequate explanation, a number of peasants join co-operatives reluctantly, with less enthusiasm. It is quite correct and necessary to show them that individual production is not advantageous, that it is dangerous and will lead them to a deadlock, so that they may think it over and will voluntarily join co-operatives; at the same time we will seriously criticize the rich peasants' spirit of exploitation and check the tendency of spontaneous capitalist development among a number of upper-middle peasants. But, to the land-poor

peasants, the lower-middle peasants, and the middle peasants in general, we must speak of individual and collective production, that is we must show them the road to poverty and that to abundance and happiness.

To help the peasants embark in agricultural co-operativization with a revolutionary mettle and hearty voluntariness, first of all we must do well the ideological work. We must not only deal with individualism and collectivism, but also stress where lies superiority of collective production over individual production. In Vietnam, irrigation and the fight against natural calamities must be closely linked with co-operativization and can be done only with concerted efforts. Therefore it is necessary to demonstrate that without co-operativization natural calamities cannot be fought successfully, the difficulties met in production cannot be overcome and, as a result, no progress is possible. The peasants of our country have realized this through their own experience. The regular work-exchange teams have already proved their advantages. Co-operativization is the shifting from small production to large production. It is fundamentally the transformation of individual production into collective production. We must show the peasants the road leading from small production to large-scale production based on mechanization and electrification, help them see the bright future to enhance their confidence and make them more resolute in their forward march. But it is also necessary to say clearly that they must wage an active and protracted struggle and must know what their immediate tasks are.

The greatest problem is the shift from the bad individualistic and selfish ideas to fine socialist ideology and mutual love. These ideas stem from the customs practised in production. Lenin said that the change of man's thinking requires some generations. In our present situation, it does not take so long a time but it is not an easy task. Man's thinking can be changed mainly through production. Individualism can be changed only through collective production. There must be strict regimes and rules to educate people in the labour organization and through collective life. Of course this new relation is at first troublesome to individual producers. However, they can bear it because of its many advantages. That is the question.

Ideological propaganda and education is very necessary. It is a leading task in every work. But revolution does not consist only of propaganda. The most important thing is to bring in material interests. Hence, there must be a new regime for labour organization in the new method of production. If labour is not rationally organized, responsibility not well defined, finance not squarely settled, there will be embezzlement which is a very bad thing. The new method of production requires a new just and rational regime. Only on this condition can the superiority of co-operatives be promoted, a strong ideological change brought about among the peasants, ever more material interests given them, and their confidence in the new production relation enhanced further.

SOME IDEAS CONCERNING THE RAISING OF CO-OPERATIVES FROM LOW TO HIGH LEVEL

Due to the fact that our production is still low and based on manual labour and collective production is not yet developed in the beginning, co-operatives cannot be immediately shifted to a higher level. As long as production is not raised the shifting of co-operatives to a higher level is impossible, hence the necessity of paying adequate consideration to the peasants' private ownership. Due to low production, a part of the output of the land pooled by the peasants to co-operatives (from 25 to 30 per cent) is paid to its owners. The idea of private ownership is deep-rooted in the peasants' mind. Sometimes a lime pot is handed down for generations. Our line and policies are worked out on the basis of the objective situation. They must be scientific, guaranteeing the common interests and at the same time paying consideration to private interests. Lop-sided policies departing from objective reality are a mistake, and are sometimes dangerous. Naturally, we must criticize the bad aspect of individual production, however we must give it a correct and full consideration, at the same time, we must highlight the fine aspect of collective production. While criticizing individualism we are inclined to suppress the part of profit derived from land. Thus we do not see that to raise the ideological level and to solve practical questions are two separate problems.

The taking of the semi-socialist production relation to entirely socialist production relation must go through a powerful development of production. We must raise the production and income of co-operatives higher than those of individual production. If formerly a peasant earned 3 dong for 3 work days and now after his joining co-operatives his earning remains the same it cannot be said that collective production is superior to individual production; to show the superiority of collective production, for three days they must earn 4 dong. The superiority of collective labour lies in the fact that the productivity and quality of labour is higher. Besides, the spirit of solidarity and mutual assistance is also higher. Therefore, the solution of the problem is not the suppression of the profit of 25 to 30 per cent derived from the land contributed by the peasants, but the increase of productivity, and of the income of co-operatives and their members, and the raising of their socialist consciousness. Once production is developed, even if the peasants do not derive any profit from their land, the life of co-op members, including the households owning much land but having little labour power, and those of the old and weak, may have their livelihood relatively insured, only then can we take co-operatives to a higher level. If production is not developed, the production relation, though changed, cannot be steady. We cannot rely only on the solution of the ideological problem. Particularly in the condition obtaining in our country in which the acreage of land is limited compared with the dense population, (the per capita

landholding is only about 3 sao*), if we cannot concentrate our efforts to increase production when co-operatives are still at a low level, their shifting to a higher level is very difficult. I repeat that it is not sufficient to rely only on ideological education to shift co-operatives from low to higher level, if production is not increased.

SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING LEADERSHIP

Ideological revolution takes the lead in any revolutionary movement. Only correct ideas bring about correct actions. Take an example: in the past we won the French because we hated them, and instead of fearing them, we were confident in our success.

Now, embarking in co-operativization the peasants of our country are endowed with the political and economic experiences they have gained after decades under the leadership of the Party. They are confident in the Party, and enthusiastically follow it. But in production, we must not forget that old ideas and customs are deep-rooted in their mind. This very great, very important problem deserves attention, as Lenin has often reminded. While showing confidence in the Party, the peasants are anxious about their living conditions (because this is a question of starving or living in abundance, of life or death). Therefore at first, except for a number of advanced people, many

* One Sao: 360 sq.m.

listen with a keen ear to what they are said but still have misgivings. Revolution is not the work of the advanced only. It must drag the middle-of-the-roaders and the backward in its wake. So long as the backward have not seen their road and the middle-of-the-roaders have seen only a part of it, revolution cannot go ahead. Lenin has said that the peasants have full confidence only when they are convinced by reality. When the movement for co-operativization had not yet started, we spoke a lot of ideology. Now it is time to prove our reasoning by reality. Is the Soviet Union superior to the U.S.A.? It is. In real life, Communism is growing better and better than capitalism, and further and further outstrips it. This is reality, it is more and more powerful in stirring up and encouraging the world's people to turn their mind to the socialist countries, to socialism and communism.

Therefore, we must strive to raise the production of co-operatives much higher than that of individuals. As co-operatives include over 46 per cent of the peasant households throughout North Vietnam, this question must call for greater attention. The Party Central Committee is quite right to say that the leading organs must grasp production because it is a very important problem.

But I see that a number of local cadres have not yet thoroughly grasped this question due to their incomplete understanding. Regarding leadership, I must say that the Party Central Committee and the government have laid down the general line and policies, whereas the provincial Party Committees are responsible for the execution. It is the Party provincial

committees, and not the commission for rural affairs, which are responsible for it. The commission for rural affairs is only a research body to help the Party provincial committees. It is regrettable that many comrades have not a thorough understanding of this question. The leadership over co-operativization and production is very intricate and difficult. A leader must know how to manage co-operatives well, improve cultivation, take care of the cattle. But a number of Party provincial committees are giving a superficial political leadership; they lack knowledge in technique and in the leadership for production, hence they lack perspicacity and do not go deep into the masses to find out problems for the leading organs to solve. Now we should not speak of politics in a superficial way and get ourselves busy with our daily routine. We must take in hand the leadership over co-operativization and the development of production in order to increase the co-operatives' and peasants' income. The leading organs must have a better understanding of the work before it can be done satisfactorily.

In the course of my recent visit to a province, I have heard that in some places, the people continued to grow egg plants at a loss. Why don't they grow other plants? Does the Party Committee of that province know this? In another village, manpower is redundant and the cattle lack fodder, why is not reclamation made of the waste land lying 5 kilometres from there, to enlarge the grassland for the development of stock-breeding? Why is not irrigation actively carried out there to turn the 1,000 hectares of one-crop ricefield into double-crop ones? Does the Party committee of

that province know this? In another province, 25 plantations are not yet rehabilitated while a great number of youths have not much work to do. It is not that we lack manpower, but it is because we do not yet thoroughly understand this problem and have not a deep and close leadership over production.

In the guidance over execution, the Party provincial committee must grasp the villages as closely as it does enterprises. Can it do so? It can, because except for a number of provinces having a few local enterprises, the main activity of the people is agricultural production. The Party provincial and district committees must directly grasp the villages and the leadership over agricultural production as the main task. If production is not good, the collection of taxes and the purchase of agricultural products etc., do not fare better.

It can be said that the Party provincial committees must devote seven or eight tenths of their times to lead co-operativization and production. I find that many members of the Party provincial committees have not sufficiently mastered technique, but have only given a superficial leadership. In my opinion, apart from the provincial standing committees which are responsible for general leadership (and not all standing Committee members are required in political leadership), other members must have a thorough professional and technical knowledge. The various provincial commissions and branches must help the Party provincial committees and provincial administrative committees in their leadership over villages. Let us take the cultivation of jute for example. The Party provincial

committees must together with the Commission specializing in the matter, make a careful study, lay down for execution the leading principles most adequate to the lower level, to villages. At present, our leadership is not yet up to the task, so we have to bring it to the point.

Villages must be taken as the targets of our work. The Party provincial and district committees must devote at least two months to each of the two crops in the year to work out detailed production plans. They must conduct a thorough study and lead the villages in the execution of the work. The agricultural and forestry branch must help the Party provincial committees to grasp production, and the trading branch must know what products to purchase in order to step up production, etc. It will be no small force, if under the centralized leadership of the Party Committees, all provincial branches concentrate their efforts to this regular central work, at the same time skilfully combine it with emergency work and the work of their own branches. But to this end, there must necessarily be a great change in leadership. Short of it, our production has not yet developed strongly, our co-operatives have not yet shown their superiority.

At present, parallel with the development of the movement for agricultural co-operativization, we are vigorously starting the greatest revolution which is to conquer nature. This is a long struggle revolutionizing many former farming methods. Let us take irrigation for example. At present our irrigation is but that of poor peasants. In the climatic conditions obtaining in the north of our country, this struggle

will be all the harder and require an all-round scientific knowledge.

But to favour the revolution to harness nature, on the one hand we must speed up co-operativization, on the other consolidate co-operatives. We must educate the co-op members to get rid of individualism and egoism which are the source of corruption, waste, disunion within co-operatives, which weaken the struggle against climatic conditions.

For this great revolution to conquer nature, we must satisfactorily solve the contradictions between man and man, that is at present we must develop and consolidate co-operatives. The realization of this great revolution is also one aspect of the development of productive forces, and increase of the income, which the leading organs must earnestly and actively study and carry out step by step and under a plan.

I return to the leadership over villages. The provincial committees must firmly grasp the villages, lead them in the development of their agricultural production and many-sided undertakings. In China, from one quarter to one third of the co-operatives' income is drawn from side-occupations. Only by enlarging and increasing production can accumulation of fund be made; and only by greatly increasing this accumulation can socialist industrialization be stepped up. Without these conditions, co-operativization cannot make headway. We must know that at present the production of our co-operatives is still based on manual labour, roughly as in the past. After joining co-operatives, the peasants can step out because no

firm material basis exists to bind them with the co-operatives. Only with the machines supplied to agriculture by heavy industry, that is to say only with a mechanized agricultural production can we closely seal the peasants to co-operatives and successfully carry out socialism. In the present conditions, the failure of one or two crops will land the co-operatives into troubles. Therefore, the unique way forward lies through an active production and accumulation of fund.....

At present we have not yet that material basis. Thus, to consolidate and develop co-operatives, we must further enhance the ideological work and make greater efforts to increase production and the income of co-operatives and their members. This is a road forward as has been said above, at the same time it is also a key work to consolidate and develop co-operatives in the present conditions. Ideological work must be intensified. The weaker the material basis, the firmer we must grasp the ideological work.

Our co-operatives must have a trend of production for two or three years, and not for one crop only, because our production still depends on climatic conditions. If one crop only is grown and fails due to natural calamities we shall lose initiative and confidence. We can lay down the following target for our struggle: to overtake and outstrip the upper-middle peasants. At present what is the superiority of the upper-middle peasants over co-operatives? How many years have we to struggle in order to overtake and outstrip them? The poor peasants and lower-middle peasants must be given help to overtake and outstrip

them in their income not only in rice, but also in all other products. Only when the co-operatives show a marked superiority can they be consolidated and are the peasants really enthusiastic and confident. At present the upper-middle peasants still get the better of co-operatives. Their superiority lies not only in land, means of production, but also in the management and organization of production. They know how to save time, work against time, and grow crop in time. They raise more and fatter pigs which give a better manure. But the co-operatives have more conditions and possibilities. It is certain that they cannot for ever lag behind the upper-middle peasants. They must overtake and outstrip them.

I will say something more about voluntariness. This is a very important problem. At present, as the movement reaches the middle peasants, difficulties are greater. With them we must not use coercion but we have to explain them, wait for them and not be impatient. They join the co-operatives only when production and income are increased. The shifting of co-operatives from the lower to the upper level must be also agreed by all their members. It cannot be hurried to please a number of poor peasants who want to increase the share of income derived from labour. It must be based on the development of production.

At present, the development of production holds a very important position in the consolidation of co-operatives. This consolidation does not only deal with ideological education, but first of all it consists in all-round and unceasing development of production, in the betterment of the co-operatives' material

basis, in the increase of the co-operatives and their members' income (from production), in the consolidation and perfection of management in all respects, and in the ever more rational organization of labour. Thus, to consolidate co-operatives means to develop them all-sidedly.

Concerning leadership, we must realize that it is not quite good to raise as much as possible the ratio of development of co-operativization. Naturally, this active spirit is most gratifying. But we must overcome the greatest difficulty at present, which is the development of production. We must carry the day at all costs in the struggle for production.

To this end, our leaders must go deeper into the bases, find out and satisfactorily surmount their difficulties before we can practically speed up the movement smoothly and steadily.

SOME OPINIONS ON THE MOVEMENT FOR AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVIZATION

First of all, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, I extend my cordial greetings to all of you and welcome the great achievements you have recorded in production and in the building of co-operatives. Today after hearing the reports by the Party cell of Thai Hoa village and from the Party Committee of Nong Cong district, I want to express some opinions which we shall study together.

I. TASKS OF OUR PARTY MEMBERS IN THE MOVEMENT FOR AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVIZATION

When we join the Communist Party we all pursue the loftiest and finest ideal which is to struggle for a society without exploitation of man by man, for the

* Talk at the meeting of cadres of people's administrative and Party's organizations of Nong Cong district, Thanh Hoa province (held in December 1958).

release of productive forces, the emancipation of labouring people and the advance of our country to socialism and communism.

Since we entered the Party we have been inspired with the spirit of collectivism and "non-individualism" because the ideal for which we have been fighting is the emancipation of all our class and our nation and the whole of mankind.

Party members are politically more conscious than the progressive masses because they are no longer individualistic and can sacrifice themselves for the common cause. In the period of underground activity, every Party member was well aware that the least they would very likely get in joining the Party was imprisonment, and the most, the guillotine, however he went on fighting for the Party. One man fell, another took his place. From a group of a few men at the start, our Party numbers hundreds of thousands now. Thanks to our sacrifices, we have succeeded in overthrowing imperialism and feudalism, completely liberating half of our country and are carrying out socialist revolution in the North.

At present, our Party's greatest difficulty is that the mind of many Party members in the contradiction between individualism and collectivism has not yet been solved correctly and these two ideologies are still in conflict. The most to be required of a Party member is the sacrifice of his personal interests for the benefit of the revolution. But the least he must understand is that his own interests, those of his family and the interests of the collectivity are one and the same; that

his own interests and those of his family are ensured only when the interests of the collectivity are ensured. If for the time being his own interests and those of his family are somewhat impaired, in the future his life will be much more glorious, the society will be well ahead, then his own life and that of his family will be completely guaranteed. That is why there are no reasons for a Party member to oppose the movement for agricultural co-operativization.

As members of the Party, we cannot fail to love our fellow-countrymen and our comrades. One half of our country is still under the sway of the U.S.-Diem clique. Every hour, every minute our compatriots and our comrades in the South are eagerly opposing the enemy. As we think of them we cannot for the sake of self-interests weigh the pros and cons and do not work actively for the movement for co-operativization.

II. ON THE PARTY'S CLASS LINE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

First of all we must be well aware that the class line is not to be applied in the Party. As a rule there should be no distinction of class origin between Party members, but as our Party members live in the countryside, are closely linked to their family's economy, their political consciousness is not yet high and their material life is still exerting great influence on their mind, at present, the poor peasant members are more active and enthusiastic

than the middle peasant ones and the upper-middle peasant members being richer, are still less enthusiastic and some even go counter to the movement for agricultural co-operativization. This state of things is due to insufficient criticism and ideological education within the Party and should not have happened but as matters stand now, we must be aware of it to intensify the ideological education with regard to these comrades.

A no small number of our Party members have not as yet firmly grasped the Party's class line in the countryside. To know whether or not a Party member has made progress and is class conscious it needs chiefly to know whether or not he has firmly grasped the Party's class line.

Some comrades wonder why distinction should be made between poor peasant and middle peasants. As I have said above the class origin still has great influence on the level of class consciousness and enthusiasm in the Party let alone in the masses of people. As a result we must have a clearcut class line to see clearly on whom can we rely upon, with whom can we unite and whom we must oppose in the present movement for agricultural co-operativization,

The Party's class line in the countryside is to rely upon the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants, to unite closely with the middle peasants, to restrict and later to do away with the rich peasants' economy, to prevent the landlords from raising their heads and help them transform themselves into new men because such is required by the objective practice. In the

democratic revolution, we relied upon the landless and poor peasants because out of their eagerness to get land they were all for the revolution. The aim of the present socialist revolution is to oppose capitalist exploitation and the tendency of spontaneous development of capitalism in order to release the productive forces, to emancipate labour power in the countryside, and to raise the living standards of the people. The rich peasants constitute the exploiting stratum in the countryside and the upper-middle peasants represent the tendency of spontaneous development of capitalism. If we rely upon them we cannot make revolution. Reliance should be placed on those strata which would be driven to poverty if capitalism develops. It is obvious that if the land was concentrated in the hands of the rich peasants, the poor peasants would be ruined and the lower-middle peasants impoverished. Therefore, they are active and enthusiastic in carrying out revolution; we must rely on them if we want to advance to socialism. But the middle peasants in general, including the upper-middle peasants, are labouring people and would join the co-operatives if they find collective production advantageous to them, therefore we must unite closely with them.

Another reason why we must rely on the poor and middle peasants: Once the co-operative set up and land concentrated, productivity increases only if technique and organization of labour are improved. Who are the most eager to do this? They are precisely the poorest. The poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants are most longing for technical improvement

to better their livelihood, therefore they actively think out ways and means to increase productivity, to improve technique and organization of labour, thus enabling the co-operative to develop rapidly. Only by relying on these strata can technical revolution be stepped up. As the sense of being master of the co-operative is low, if a middle peasant is its chairman he will pay little attention to the improvement of technique and organization of labour, thus productivity cannot increase and the co-operative will meet with many difficulties. There are of course active upper-middle peasants but the great majority of poor peasants and middle peasants are still more active and therefore are always our main props. This is beyond any doubt that all Party members must be aware of it and proceed in full keeping with it. The Party members who are middle peasants need all the more rely on the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants. The practice in the cooperatives I have recently visited has proved that the aforementioned Party's line is correct.

Some comrades have spoken at length of the contradiction between poor peasants and middle peasants. Actually there is little contradiction between them because they both are toiling people. Sharp antagonistic contradictions exist only between poor peasants and middle peasants on the one hand and rich peasants on the other. The contradictions between poor peasants and middle peasants lie in the fact that the ones are more progressive and more class-conscious than the others. Consequently while relying on the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants it is necessary to unite closely with the middle peasants. If we

do not unite with the middle peasants who form 40 per cent of the rural population, the movement for agricultural co-operativization cannot be stepped up and the socialist revolution in the countryside will not go ahead. As the middle peasants are slow in understanding the advantages of the co-operative we must resolutely convince them, talk to them day after day until we win them over. It is strictly forbidden to speak ill of them. Poor peasants and middle peasants should form a bloc.

We must strongly condemn the rich peasants' exploitation and criticize the upper middle peasants' tendency to spontaneous development of capitalism. Only in such a way can the middle peasants be brought to a stop, not embarking in the capitalist road.

It is of great importance that Party members firmly grasp the Party's class line in the countryside if they want the movement for agricultural co-operativization to go ahead. Besides, the Labour Youth Union must be strengthened to serve as a prop for the Party to bring the movement forward. The Union members are enthusiastic and open to new things and socialist minded, if we know how to rely on the Union, the movement for agricultural co-operativization will develop strongly. Recent experiences have shown that wherever the Party cell, Party committee and Labour Youth Union are firm and their members' mind settled, the movement makes good progress.

III. ON THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE "ACTIVE LEADERSHIP, STEADY ADVANCE"

Revolution must triumph. Revolution does not allow failure, if it meets with temporary setbacks it must go on to win victory. Revolution is the vital right of millions of people. As Party members we are responsible for the life and poverty of these millions of people, that is why we must resolve ourselves to make the revolution successful.

To wage revolution we must be filled with revolutionary feelings, enthusiasm and passion day and night. V.I. Lenin said that revolution is a grand day for the people. Revolution is the very reason for our existence.

But it is not enough to have passionate revolutionary feelings, revolution must also be scientific, led by a correct line and proceed on a correct assessment of the objective and subjective conditions of the movement. A revolutionist must know how to walk and run, and this in the right direction. If he is enthusiastic but runs at random he will fall down a pit.

Thus there is no contradiction between "active leadership" and "steady advance".

Our movement for co-operativization is a novelty and has not got many experiences. We already have theory and also need practical experiences. So, every village having already a co-operative and experienced Party cell or Party committee may step up the movement, develop its co-operative further to embrace a

whole hamlet or increase its membership. Those having no co-operative must set up an experimental one, then learning from their experiences they will bring the movement forward. In this way the movement will develop rapidly and steadily. If co-operatives are set up in great numbers without experiences and meet with failure, it would be very hard later to restart the movement. If the masses insist on having co-operatives, we must give them explanations and advise them that it is better for them first to join regular work-exchange teams with record of work-points while preparing for the setting up of co-operatives. Once we have gained experiences in establishing co-operative we will use them to step up the movement.

Our Nong Cong district already has as many as 200 co-operatives, we must hold them firmly and at the same time continue to develop the work-exchange teams with record of work-points while preparing for the movement to forge ahead.

It is necessary constantly to intensify socialist ideological education for the masses, instilling into them the spirit of collective work, to have plan for training cadres and summing up experiences so as to be able to make big strides later. Development must go together with consolidation. At a given time consolidation will be impossible without development but at present, development is possible only with consolidation.

The biggest and key political problem in the consolidation and development of the movement for

co-operativization is to ensure a successful Winter-Spring crop without which the movement cannot advance. Political consciousness in the countryside will be heightened and the movement for co-operativization stepped up only if the output of this crop is substantially higher than the last one, otherwise suspicion will grow.

This is a thriving revolution which calls for our constant care and must be regarded as a military campaign and not as a regular production drive. The co-operativization movement will be given a great impetus if at any cost we can overcome drought, have sufficient manure, deep ploughing, rationally close transplanting, etc., and the determination to bring the Winter-Spring crop to a success.

Our revolutionary mettle must be continuously heightened. We make revolution not only against exploitation of man by man but also against nature.

In fighting against nature the masses will realize all the more clearly the necessity of collective force. If they encounter difficulties in production they must pool their force to be able to overcome them. Then the co-operativization movement will also have favourable conditions to make headway. If they meet with advantages and score many successes the masses will be more encouraged and the movement will have a greater impetus to go forward. In a word, the movement must go ahead at all costs.

This revolution changes the many-thousand-year-old life. The poor peasants should recall to mind their wretched life in the past, hate the regime that gives

birth to it and resolve not to let themselves dragged into this wretchedness.

The middle peasants have also to think over their sufferings in the past, heighten their revolutionary ardour and will struggle for the socialist revolution.

In the end, I wish you good health and more successes and beg you to convey the greetings of the Central Committee to our comrades and compatriots in the whole district.

THE WORKING CLASS AND SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION*

Comrades and friends,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party I extend my warmest and most cordial greetings to the Second National Congress of the Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions and through it to the glorious working class all over our country.

Also on behalf of the Vietnam Workers' Party, the Vietnamese working class and people, I warmly welcome the delegates of

The World Federation of Trade Unions,

The trade unions of the brother socialist countries,

The fraternal French General Confederation of Labour, and the trade union organizations of the friendly Afro-Asian countries,

who have come to take part in the present session of our National Congress of Trade Unions, and through you convey my greetings of solidarity and my best wishes to the working class and people of the brother

* Speech at the Second National Congress of the Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions held in February 1961.

socialist countries, the fraternal French working class and people, the working class and people of the Afro-Asian countries, and the working class and toiling people all over the world.

Comrades,

The present Congress is held at a time when the situation of the revolution in our country is undergoing changes of great importance.

It is held immediately after the successful conclusion of the Third National Congress of our Party. In application of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the practice of Vietnamese revolution the Party Congress has mapped out a correct line for the working class and all the people of our country to strive to take the North rapidly, vigorously and steadily to socialism and struggle for the liberation of our beloved South, to advance toward the peaceful reunification of our motherland on the basis of independence and democracy, to build a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, strong and prosperous Vietnam, and effectively to contribute to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the safeguarding of peace in South-East Asia and the world.

In the light of the resolutions of the Party Congress people throughout our country are enthusiastically and resolutely fulfilling the historical tasks set by it.

In the North, the socialist revolution and construction have recorded big achievements and are growing

vigorously. We are entering a new period on the road to socialism.

In the South, the revolutionary struggle for national liberation of our compatriots is gaining ground with buoyant mettle and shaking the gloomy U.S.-Diem regime to the root. Though still encountering numerous difficulties and obstacles this struggle has an extremely bright prospect.

Our working class is the class that leads the revolution throughout our country. History has entrusted it with the glorious mission of liberating the nation and leading our country to socialism and communism. In the light of the resolutions of the Party National Congress the present Congress of trade unions will certainly show the working class and trade union organizations, the practical tasks and work to be done to transform the Party's line into the will, determination and deeds of the broad masses of workers, employees, and mobilize all of them to work heart and soul for the successful fulfilment of their glorious historical mission.

Dear comrades,

The present task of building socialism in the North is of most decisive significance for the whole development of the Vietnamese revolution and for the struggle for national reunification.

Since the restoration of peace and the complete liberation of the North we have stepped into the period of transition to socialism. We have completed

the economic rehabilitation, the Three-Year Plan for economic transformation and development and for cultural development (1958-60) was successfully achieved, bringing about big revolutionary changes in the economy and life in the north of our country.

The socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, private capitalist industry and commerce and small traders has won successes of decisive importance. 85 per cent of peasant households are members of low-level agricultural co-operatives, 87 per cent of artisans and 82 per cent of small traders have joined co-operative organizations of various forms, the private capitalist industry and commerce as a whole have been transformed into joint state-private undertakings or co-operatives. The system of exploitation of man by man has been basically abolished and the system of individual ownership of the small producers which occupied a great part of the national economy has been turned into the system of socialist collective ownership.

On the basis of the new relations of production, the industrial and agricultural production in the past few years have also developed rapidly. The average annual rate of increase of the value of agricultural output in the Three-Year Plan was 6 per cent, of industry 21.7 per cent, and of industry turning out means of production alone 35 per cent.

The old agriculture with a monoculture is being gradually turned into a comprehensive agriculture with many branches, craft and many varieties of products.

Our industry consisted in the past only of a few small repair workshops, raw material extracting enterprises, and enterprises for preliminary processing of products; but we have now built up a light industry capable of supplying our people with the greater part of commodities. The first undertakings of heavy industry such as engineering, metallurgy, electricity, fuel, building materials, etc. have been initially set up and are developing. The industrial ratio in the aggregate value of industrial and agricultural output has increased from 30.4 per cent in 1957 to 41.3 per cent in 1960.

Efforts have been made to speed up the development of culture, education, science and technology, the training and fostering of technicians and skilled workers. The working class in the North has swollen rapidly. The material and cultural life of our people has been substantially improved.

These great achievements are proofs of the superiority of the socialist regime in the North, at the same time they constitute a great encouragement for our countrymen in the South. They create favourable conditions for the socialist laws widely to bring into play their effects, enabling the North to advance more rapidly and more powerfully on the road of socialist development.

These successes have been obtained thanks first of all to the patriotism and socialist ardour of our working class and people, and also thanks to the wholehearted assistance of the working classes and peoples of the brother socialist countries, first and foremost the Soviet Union and China. Availing

ourselves of this opportunity we sincerely thank the working classes and peoples of the brother countries for their disinterested and generous aid.

At present, the socialist construction in the North is entering a new period.

The resolution of the Third National Congress of our Party has pointed out that when socialist transformation scores decisive successes, socialist construction and industrialization will become our central task. It is precisely our Five-Year Plan (1961-1965) that opens up this period. The principal aim of this plan is to build the material and technical basis of socialism, carry out socialist industrialization and complete socialist transformation.

At present, we are facing a big contradiction in the process of the development of the socialist construction in the North. We have established advanced relations of production — socialist relations of production with two important forms of ownership: entire people's ownership and collective ownership, but the material and technical basis of the national economy is still very weak. Productivity is low as production still relies mostly on manual labour. The ratio of the output of modern industry in the national economy amounts to only 20 per cent. With an improved but still backward farming method, agriculture which depends a great deal on nature occupies the greater part in our production. This situation is setting the economy of the North an urgent task: rapidly to accomplish socialist industrialization, and to build the material and technical foundations of socialism. A socialist economy cannot be built on the

basis of a backward manual production but necessarily on the basis of a large mechanized industry. Only with a large mechanized industry can we rapidly raise labour productivity, ensure continuous enlarged reproduction and bring socialism to a complete success.

If we do not build up for our national economy a modern material and technical basis, and equip the various branches of industry, agriculture, capital construction, communications and transport, etc. with machines, to replace manual labour by mechanized labour, our economy cannot in essence, be considered as a socialist economy.

That is precisely why our Party regards industrialization as the central task throughout the period of transition to socialism.

We have every reason to put forth the task of industrialization of our country. We have enough natural resources and labouring power. Besides, we have the powerful socialist camp with an advanced industry. With the assistance and close co-operation of our brother countries, first and foremost, the great Soviet Union and great China, the valiant working class and toiling people of our country will certainly be able to establish rapidly a national industry in accordance with our possibilities and conditions.

Our policy on industrialization consists in building a balanced and modern socialist economy which combines industry with agriculture and which has heavy industry as its basis, in giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry and at the same time striving to develop agriculture and light industry

aimed at transforming our backward agricultural country into a country endowed with a modern industry, a modern agriculture, and an advanced culture and science.

To provide modern technique for the various branches of national economy it is definitely indispensable to build a heavy industry with a machine-building industry as its core. At present, an important part of our machines and equipment are supplied by the brother countries. However, for the basic and lasting benefit of our economy, we must gradually move toward self-supply for the great part of machines and equipment required by various branches of the national economy, otherwise we cannot have the initiative in the development of our national economy. Therefore in carrying out industrialization we must unfailingly stick to the principle of giving priority to the development of heavy industry.

Our industrial system must be built rationally. We need not necessarily set up all the branches of heavy industry, only the basic ones that our country must necessarily build and has conditions to develop in order to provide a material and technical basis required by industry, agriculture, capital construction, transport and communications, etc., and to direct these branches in satisfying the people's requirements in food, housing, education and circulation.

We do not have to wait until heavy industry is in full bloom before stepping up light industry and food industry. While our heavy industry is not yet developed, thanks to the assistance and co-operation of the brother socialist countries we can even base ourselves

on our natural resources and our people's requirements to develop light industry and food industry, ensure the supply of staple commodities to the people and the requirements of exports.

The aid and co-operation of the brother countries is of paramount importance to our industrialization, however we must not rely too much on it but mainly on our own efforts, on the development of our national economy, on the endeavour and sacrifices of our people. We proceed from an agricultural economy to carry out industrialization. Consequently agriculture must serve as the basis for the development of industry and in its turn the developed industry becomes the main force, the lever for the development of all branches of the national economy.

Agriculture is a source supplying foodstuffs and raw materials to industry, and a market for industrial goods. Our tropical agriculture is an important source of exports in exchange for machines and equipment needed by industry. The developed agriculture also contributes to accumulating funds for industrialization.

Industry will have no basis to develop rapidly and favourably if agriculture does not develop all-sidedly, vigorously and steadily. Vice-versa, if industry is not developed agriculture cannot expand sufficiently and vigorously.

At present, agricultural co-operativization at low level is completed in the main, but the material and technical basis of agriculture is still weak, labour productivity has increased but a little, as a result the co-operatives are not yet firmly consolidated.

Only by expanding agricultural production on a large scale, using improved farming implements then gradually modern machines and technique can socialist production relations in the countryside be firmly established, and agricultural production develop rapidly. Without a developed industry to supply improved farming implements, agricultural machines, chemical fertilizers, to build irrigation works and expand transport and communications, etc. it would be impossible to set up a modern agriculture. Of course agriculture should not wait for industry, but strive to establish and strengthen the mode of collective labour and make the best of all existing possibilities of the new productive forces created by collective labour to further step up agricultural production.

Industry and agriculture are the two basic branches of production that form the unified structure of the national economy. They are closely inter-related, rely on and impel each other and serve each other's growth.

The main task of agriculture is to ensure the supply of foodstuffs to the people and also to serve the development of industry. In return industry also has the task of serving the development of agriculture in producing means of production and consumer goods. Only in this way can industry and agriculture develop rapidly and favourably. Therefore in carrying out industrialization we must endeavour to develop both industry and agriculture and should not make light of any of them.

To implement socialist industrialization a question of prime importance to be solved is socialist accumulation. Without accumulation it will be impossible

to carry out enlarged reproduction on a large scale and at a quick tempo, and to build a modern industry and modern agriculture. Production and economy are the key sources for the accumulation of funds.

In the last analysis the wealth accumulated comes from productive labour. With our manual labour, backward technique and low productivity we cannot accumulate and concentrate big funds for socialist industrialization. For that reason, we have now no other way than relying ourselves on the people's revolutionary movement, and on the enthusiastic efforts of the entire people in working to increase productivity through improvement of organization of labour and of technique, making full use of the possibilities existing in production, at the same time efforts must be made to practise strict economy, resolutely to fight waste and corruption, to make use of manpower, materials and finance in the most rational way so as to be able to concentrate the necessary funds for socialist industrialization. Only by accumulating capitals can we gradually endow the national economy with new technique and replace the backward manual labour by modern mechanization having a high productivity which will enable us to make bigger accumulations for the acceleration of the industrialization of our country.

Socialist industrialization is the solely correct road of development in North Vietnam. It is the only means to step up production, to rapidly expand the industrial branches to make the northern people enjoy a new, abundant and happy life and transform the

North into a firm and strong base of the struggle for national reunification.

Industrialization tallies with the interests and cherished aspirations of all workers, farmers and intellectuals in our country.

The more advanced industrialization the more swollen the rank of the Vietnamese working class, the more improved the workers' livelihood and the more strengthened the leadership of the working class over the people's democratic power and other social activities.

Socialist industrialization raises the value of the peasants' labour, increases the possibility of the toiling peasants to successfully combat the age-old terrible natural calamities, improve the peasants' livelihood and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

Socialist industrialization affords our brain workers a favourable occasion to raise their scientific and technical standard, fully develop their capabilities, put their knowledge to the service of the people and of socialist construction and swell their rank with new intellectuals of worker, peasant and other labourer stock.

Therefore, devotedly to carry out socialist industrialization is the most important task of the working class and toiling people of the North.

Trade union is a broad mass organization of the working class; all its activities should be aimed at serving this central task.

Lenin said that in general trade union is a school of communism, and in particular it should be a school

managing socialist industry (and gradually managing agriculture) for all workers and then for all toiling people.

At present, in the North the working class leads the state and economic development and transformation. The exploiting class exists no more. The workers have become masters of factories, mines, construction sites, state farms, etc. To play this role, our working class must satisfactorily manage the economy and the enterprises, develop production rapidly, raise further labour productivity, turn out more social wealth of good quality and at low price, in order to satisfy the ever increasing needs of the society. To this end, the working class must *study to grasp modern technology, and the technique of production of modern industry*. Lenin said that to lead the management satisfactorily it is necessary to understand thoroughly the condition of production, to grasp the technique of production to a high degree and to possess a certain scientific standard.

The trade union must organize the study for workers and help them study; it must find every means to raise their technical and cultural level. The cadres of the organizational section and the trade union must also study to firmly acquaint themselves with the knowledge and technique of production in order effectively to take part in the management of production and of the economy, in the elaboration and fulfilment of state plans, and to carry out their task of economic management school for the working class.

Over the last few years, thanks to the efforts made by the working class and people of our country and to

the wholehearted assistance of the brother countries, we have built in the North 172 centrally-run state enterprises and more than 600 local enterprises. This is a very great achievement. However, owing to the low technical standard of our cadres and workers, the yield of machines and equipment is still low, averaging less than 50 per cent of project, the duration of machines is not up to norm, and the regulations and technical project are not fully elaborated and correctly applied, thus causing damage and waste to machines and equipment, and even labour accident. These are mistakes and shortcomings which must be overcome.

A modern industry requires a scientific labour organization and management and a severe discipline, however our competence in these respects is still low. In our enterprises, the management of labour is not satisfactory, discipline is loose, waste of time prevails, responsibility is lacking in the protection of public property, waste and corruption are still rife; irrational regulations in the management of enterprises are not corrected in time; co-ordination is still loose between centrally-run enterprises and branches and the local ones; the business accounting system is not fully carried out, the elaboration of economic targets and technical norms is not widely applied in all enterprises.

Over the last few years, a campaign for the participation of factory and office workers in the management of enterprises has made it possible to raise their sense of being masters and has initially bettered the regulations in the organization and management of

these enterprises. At present in state enterprises, congresses have been held, involving a great many office and factory workers, to discuss the situation of production and the carrying out of the plans. These are good changes. From now on, we must develop the success achieved in order constantly to improve our management, correctly apply the principle of democratic centralism in this management, fully apply the regime put forth by our Party, consisting in the management of the enterprise by the director under the leadership of the Party committee, with the participation of the workers.

The working class is duty-bound to transform the society and to this end it must constantly transform itself. The advance of industrialization will swell the rank of the working class by the admittance of new workers who were peasants, pupils, poor townsfolk or belonged to other labouring sections. This is an inevitable phenomenon. But these new workers bring in with them non-proletarian ideas of their sections of origin. The factory and office workers who lived in the old society have been badly influenced by the thinkings of the exploiting class and other non-proletarian ideologies. That is why, an important regular task of the trade union is to raise the socialist consciousness of the working class, and inculcate upon it new socialist ideology and ethics, such as the sense of being masters, love of labour and respect of public property, collectivism, mutual class solidarity, respect of labour discipline, etc., the trade union must energetically struggle against the influence of bourgeois thinking, the petty-bourgeois ideology, the

remnants of feudalism ideology and other non-proletarian thinkings. The trade union must help intellectuals transform themselves further in order to become the true intelligentsia of the working class.

With our socialist consciousness and the revolutionary mettle of the working class, we must urge the working class enthusiastically to take part in the *patriotic emulation movement, fulfil and overfulfil the state plan for economic and cultural development*. The emulation movement is an important method to draw the majority of the masses into the management of production and the state. Through this movement we can rapidly heighten the sense of being masters and the socialist consciousness of the workers, raise their technical standard, fully develop their positiveness and creativeness and improve the management of production and of the enterprises in every respect. This movement is an important method to accelerate socialist construction. At present, the workers are engaged in an emulation drive to become front-rank workers, teams and brigades; this drive has brought out many emulation heroes and outstanding fighters who have displayed a great sacrificing spirit, heroism and creative labour of the working class; many innovations and initiatives have been introduced to improve organization and technique, rationalize production, raise labour productivity. Our trade union must speed up the emulation drive and transform it into a more boiling and powerful mass movement, aimed mainly at rationalizing production and improving technique. We must see to it that the innovations and inventions be popularized rapidly among

the masses and we will urge the great majority of masses of workers to study and follow the examples of front-rank workers and units.

A good organization of and leadership over the emulation movement will bring about a high movement of production among factory and office workers and vouch for the success of our plans.

Parallel to the heightening of the socialist consciousness and revolutionary mettle of the workers, our trade union should *pay due attention to the material and spiritual interests of the working class*. This is also an important factor to accelerate production. Under our regime, the improvement of the material and cultural life of the toiling people is the greatest concern of our Party and state. We have made great effort to raise the living standard of the factory and office workers: to find employment for hundreds of thousands of people, improve the wage system, organize public amenities and social insurance, etc. But we must understand that at present the living standard of our workers as well as of our people is still low and meets with many difficulties caused mainly by the low level of our production. Only by developing production and rapidly raising labour productivity, is it possible to improve rapidly our livelihood. In leading the state, our working class must pay due attention not only to the immediate interests of the whole country but also to its abiding interests, not only to the interests of the working class but also to the common interests of scores of millions of people of the North and of the country at large. To do away with the poverty of our country,

we have no other alternative than to rely on our own powers, to build the country frugally and painstakingly and make the necessary accumulation of capital for socialist industrialization. We must see to the improvement of the people's life and the accumulation of funds for economic and industrial development. Our trade union must make the workers realize clearly their immediate and permanent interests, partial and common interests in order to improve their livelihood and develop their spirit of thrift and sacrifice in struggle so as to build up a bright future. On the other hand, it must develop its effectiveness in the mobilization and organization of the masses to improve their livelihood, to contribute to the betterment of the wage system, bonuses, to take part in the elaboration of hygiene regulation and safety in production, protection of labour, amenities and social insurance, improvement of food, clothing, housing, working, entertainment, housekeeping and children's nursing of the workers and to find every way and means to overcome the difficulties encountered by factory and public workers in their livelihood.

Comrades,

In exerting its efforts to build socialism in the North our working class cannot forget that half of our country is not yet liberated. In the South our people, including the workers, are living in a state of burning heat and boiling water. The imperialists and their henchmen, Ngo Dinh Diem, are carrying out a most savage fascist policy to turn our South

into a U.S. colony and military base and are plotting to rekindle the war and to wreck peace in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the world. But they meet with a strong opposition on the part of our southern compatriots as a whole.

For nearly nine years now, meetings, demonstrations, parades have been held in South Vietnam, involving more than two million people, to protest against the policies of repression, terror, wage cut, dismissal of workers, land grabbing, herding of the population, house eviction, setting up of "prosperity zones" and "agricultural settlements"; to oppose forced recruitment of labourers, pressganging of soldiers, subscriptions of money, fines; to protest against Diem's dictatorship and nepotism and to compel him to resign, etc. In these political struggles the Diem clique have killed hundreds of people by very barbarous means such as disembowelling and beheading. In many localities the inhabitants have armed themselves against terrorist raids launched by the U.S.-Diem clique.

At present, blood is shed everyday on half of our beloved country. We vehemently denounce before world public opinion the unheard-of bloody crimes of the U.S.-Diem clique. We warmly acclaim the heroic struggle of the working class, toiling people and all our compatriots in the South, who are now highlighting their heroic revolutionary tradition, stubbornly fighting against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, Ngo Dinh Diem, demanding peace, democratic liberties, improvement of the people's livelihood,

independence and peaceful reunification of the Fatherland. At the same time we are duty-bound to support by all means the struggle of the working class and toiling people in the South, to stubbornly fight for the rapid peaceful reunification of the country so that North and South will be united. Despite their mad actions in the end the U.S.-Diem clique will meet with a shameful failure. Our beloved Fatherland will be completely reunified.

The U.S. imperialists commit crimes not only in the south of our country but everywhere in the world. In Laos, our neighbour, together with their henchmen they are unleashing a civil war which seriously threatens peace in Indo-China and South-East Asia, we therefore vehemently protest against this scheme of invasion and brazen intervention of the U.S. imperialists. We energetically support the just struggle waged against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, by the Laotian people to re-establish peace in Laos and take that country to the road of peace, neutrality and national harmony.

Of late, the U.S. imperialists and Belgian colonialists, under the cover of the U.N.O. flag, and their henchmen, have perpetrated a new crime in the Congo, killing Premier Lumumba and two other outstanding leaders of the Congolese people. Our working class and people at large are very indignant and condemn their acts. We energetically support the stubborn struggle of the Congolese people for freedom and complete national independence.

The situation in South Vietnam, Laos and the Congo has laid bare the aggressive and bellicose face

of the U.S. imperialists. At present, the U.S. imperialists are the cruellest enemy of our people and the world's people. The Vietnamese working class and people have the duty to spearhead their struggle, together with the world's working class and people, against U. S. imperialism and to energetically denounce and smash all their dark designs.

Our working class is part of the great army of international proletariat. The success achieved by the Vietnamese working class is not taken apart from the support and sympathy of the working class and people of the world, first and foremost of the socialist camp. Therefore, it is an international duty for our working class to constantly strengthen its solidarity with the working class of socialist countries, of countries in Asia and Africa and in the world, to actively struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence, to wholeheartedly support all revolutionary struggle waged by the world's working class and people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. A fact of paramount importance for the international communist and workers' movement during the past period was the brilliant success of the Meeting of 81 communist and workers' parties in the world. This Meeting has reviewed the rich experiences gained in the struggle waged by the workers and toiling people in the world over the last years; it has thoroughly analysed the current international situation and has outlined the correct path along which to step up the future revolutionary struggle of the world's working class and people.

Our working class and people are extremely jubilant over the great success scored by the Meeting and pledge themselves to correctly implement the resolutions of the Meeting corresponding to the particular situation of Vietnam.

At present, the world is following with great admiration and esteem the wonder made by the Soviet working class and scientists in the successful launching from a man-made satellite, of an inter-planetary station to Venus. This success has opened for mankind the prospect of conquering the cosmos.

With a boundless joy and enthusiasm, we beg to convey our best wishes and congratulations to the Soviet Communist Party, government, working class and scientists.

Comrades,

The tasks laid ahead of the working class and trade unions at present are very glorious but very heavy. Without a developed and powerful trade-unions organization, it is impossible to fulfil these tasks. We must endeavour to develop the trade union more powerfully, consolidate it ideologically and organizationally, raise its position in every branch of social activities so as to transform it into a firm basis for the Party and state. We must thoroughly acquaint the trade union with production and link all its activities to production. The trade union must be brought close to the workers, learn from them and heed their opinions and aspirations. We must strive to overcome bureaucracy in trade union which consists in standing aloof from the masses and constantly remind T.U. cadres of Lenin's behest that the trade union is not

an administrative organization, but a mass organization, an educational organization. The correct method of work of the trade union can only be education and persuasion of the masses and not commandism toward the masses.

In all work, the trade union must follow the mass line, broaden democracy, foster the activists and through them step up T. U. work. The trade union must pay great attention to training and fostering cadres to satisfy the ever increasing requirement of the T.U. movement and to supply good cadres to the Party and state.

T.U. cadres must realize clearly their responsibility, serve the revolutionary work of the working class and toiling people with all their heart and soul and endeavour to temper themselves to become front-rank revolutionary fighters of the working class.

Youth and women's organizations must coordinate closely with the trade union in the mobilization of young workers and women workers.

State organs are duty-bound to give great assistance to the T.U. in every branch of activity to correctly implement the T.U. law and the Party's and government's policies and regulations relating to the working class, toiling people and trade union.

The Party Central Committee will pay attention to strengthening the leadership of the Party at all levels over the T. U. organizations and help them fulfil their mission toward the working class.

Dear comrades and friends,

The working class in Vietnam has a very glorious revolutionary tradition. Endowed with the tradition-

ally indomitable spirit of the world's people and revolutionary genius of the international working class, our working class has soon organized its vanguard party and through it, seized the sole leadership of the Vietnamese revolution for over 30 years.

The glorious success of the August Revolution, the protracted resistance war, the agrarian reform as well as of the economic re-habilitation, transformation and development during these last few years cannot be taken apart from the correct leadership of our working class and Party, it cannot be divorced from the heroic sacrifice and painstaking labour of the working class. We are very proud of this revolutionary tradition of the working class in our country.

Under the leadership of our Party, since its outset, the trade union has closely united and organized the great majority of workers, urged the working class to implement all the Party's policies and recorded many achievements in all branches of activity.

We are sure that after the present T.U. congress, our working class and T.U. organizations will develop further their glorious tradition and march forward more powerfully.

We are confident that the present T.U. congress will wreak a new change in the working class and T.U. organizations in the North and give our working class a new source of energy and determination and a new upsurge in production and labour.

With this confidence, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, I wish the second T.U. Congress brilliant success.

TO FULLY DEVELOP THE PEASANT MASSES' REVOLUTIONARY ENTHUSIASM AND CREATE A STRONG REVOLUTIONARY METTLE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE *

The present Session of the Party Central Committee has been crowned with success. It has worked diligently, and conducted hot debates. The members of the Party Central Committee, the comrades in charge of various localities and branches, and the technical cadres, have made many suggestions and reached identity of views. The Resolution of the Session has been unanimously approved.

Allow me to expound some more views which will be of service to you.

VIEWS ON AGRICULTURAL POTENTIALITIES IN NORTH VIETNAM

Formerly, the imperialists said that North Vietnam could not have enough food to eat and had

* Speech delivered at the closing of the Fifth Session of the Party Central Committee in July 1961.

certainly to import it. There are among our people and cadres those who share this opinion. But practice has refuted this standpoint. Since the August Revolution and especially since the restoration of peace, under the leadership of our Party, North Vietnam has enough food to eat. This is a very new and important fact.

With several good crops during the last few years, a number of comrades hastened to think that the North has not only enough food but is also in a position to produce food in surplus. This view is wrong too. With a per capita land acreage of 1,080 sq. metres and a backward farming technique, North Vietnam today cannot have a good quantity of food in surplus.

Recently, in face of the bad crops last year which caused temporary difficulties to the food problem, a number of comrades have become pessimistic and held that the North cannot produce enough food for its own use, I think that this view is wrong too.

We must realize clearly whether North Vietnam is able to have enough food to eat.

In my opinion, we have every ground to conclude that the agriculture of North Vietnam has the possibility to cater enough food to eat and also to serve as a basis for industrial development. In 1960, we met with a heavy crop failure, the output decreased by 30 per cent (900,000 tons of paddy and 400,000 tons of subsidiary crops in term of paddy), the food problem met with difficulties, but generally speaking we had enough food to eat or lacked it slightly.

During the past six years, our agricultural production has made progress. In the coming five years, on this basis if we develop it a step further we will certainly be able to guarantee food for the people, and for the socialist industrialization of our country. The present Session of the Party Central Committee has laid down the task of expanding the area under cultivation by 1,500,000 hectares in the coming five years by multiplying crops and reclaiming virgin land. I think that we are able to carry out this task. To increase the number of crops, the most important thing is to engage in water conservancy. We have decided to make important investments in hydraulic work in the five years to come; with these investments, and the mass revolutionary movement for hydraulic work, we are confident that we can turn 1,000,000 hectares of 1.5 crop fields into double-crop fields in a year. The Session of the Party Central Committee provided for reclamation about 550,000 hectares of virgin land (from 200,000 to 250,000 by state farms, and from 300,000 to 350,000 by the people). I think that this can be done as millions of peasants of North Vietnam have already joined the co-operatives.

In short, we must assert that agriculture in North Vietnam has the possibility to ensure food for the people and serves as basis for industrial development. This is of course a difficult problem which requires strenuous efforts. This is a difficult pass in the building of socialism that can be crossed only with adequate determination, but we will certainly be able to get through.

WHAT IS THE PRESENT KEY PROBLEM IN AGRICULTURE ?

In my opinion, the present key problem is the building and development of the new productive forces in the countryside in order gradually to increase the great potentialities of our tropical agriculture, at the same time to curb natural calamities by all existing means. The whole report submitted by the Political Bureau to the Party Central Committee is imbued with this spirit.

To build the new productive forces in the countryside we must rely on the co-operatives and state farms, first of all, the co-operatives. This is the key problem in the building of the new productive forces.

A number of comrades have not yet fully realized the contents of socialist transformation in the countryside. We must know that such a transformation differs from the transformation of capitalist industry and trade in town which consists fundamentally in transforming the production relations based on exploitation of man by man, abolishing the exploiting class, and at the same time promoting further the development of production on the basis of the existing great production.

As to the socialist transformation of agriculture in our specific situation, it is not mainly to transform the relations of exploitation since the exploiting landlord class has been overthrown and though the rich peasants still exist, their average land ownership does not exceed that of the toiling peasants, but precisely to transform all the means of production, turn the

scattered individual production into collective production on a big scale, concentrate the labour force and means of production of the poor and middle peasants working individually in order to set up a new mode of production with a new organization and division of labour.

In the Soviet Union and the people's democracies in Eastern Europe, co-operativization goes together with the supply of machines and new farm implements. In China, Korea and Vietnam a new situation arises: the peasants are organized while machines are not yet available for agriculture. But the concentration of means of production and reorganization of labour force alone are able to create a new productive force. To create this productive force, the concentration of labour power must reach a certain extent to be able to engender a new division of labour, and hence give rise to a rapid increase of the productive forces. That is why at present the problem of enlarging the size of co-operatives is of great importance. This is the main task in the strengthening and development of the co-operatives. The small-size co-operatives involving from 20 to 30 households, cannot create a new division of labour, and cannot clearly manifest their superiority. However it is not yet suitable to organize large size co-operatives when technique is still backward and the managing level is still low. According to our specific situation and experiences, the organization of hamlet-size co-operatives (embracing each from 150 to 200 households) is most suitable, and can help create a new division of labour; it therefore can supply manpower to

multiply crops, clear waste land, do hydraulic work, improve technique, develop many-sided branches and trades, and can clearly demonstrate the superiority of the co-operatives. The experiences of the Dai Phong co-operative and of hamlet-size co-operatives in various provinces have fully testified to this fact. Over recent years, the production of our co-operatives has developed, but has not really given a strong impulse, due mainly to the small size of the co-operatives.

To bring the co-operatives to the size of a whole hamlet will lead to a new revolutionary upsurge in the agricultural development for which Dai Phong has paved the way. This is a very great change in the countryside. We can compare the present step of enlarging the scale of the co-operatives with the stage of handicraft manufacture during the process of capitalist development.

PROBLEM OF MANAGING THE CO-OPERATIVES

When the co-operatives embrace 150-200 households, the problem of management is very important. At present, it is their weakest point.

In my opinion, to manage well, it is necessary to grasp the following points:

We must have a correct way of looking at the form of ownership. A determined organization of production must have only one form of ownership. The form of ownership must link to a structure of this organization. At present, in our national economy

there are three forms of ownership: national ownership, collective ownership and individual ownership; the first two forms are the main ones. The co-operatives belong to collective ownership: In the management of the co-operatives, we must grasp their character of collective ownership, at the same time know how to combine the collective economy of the co-operatives with the additional economy of the co-op members' families. At present the individual ownership created by the additional economy of the co-op members' families is still necessary; the additional economy of the co-op members' families still supplies 65 per cent of agricultural products to the market. That is why we must retain it to eke out the co-operatives' collective economy, increase marketable products and the co-op members' income. We must not be afraid that it will give birth to capitalism, because it is only an additional economy, the key positions in the economy being held by the state and co-operative economic sector.

To manage well, first of all we must clearly realize the task and trend of production. There is no other way to manage the co-operatives than to make them ensure the correct carrying out of the task and trend mapped out by the state, which are also those of the co-operative such as multiplication of crops, clearing of waste land, and increase of productivity; the essential is to produce food, at the same time to pay attention to the development of industrial crops, cattle-breeding, many-sided branches and trades, etc. If we depart from this task and orientation we cannot manage well.

A good management of co-operatives depends first of all on a good management of the province. If the province fulfils this task, the co-operatives follow suit. The province must base itself on the task, trend and plan of the central administration and the specific situation of the localities to map out a concrete plan for itself with regard to the increase of crops, clearing of waste land, development of many-sided branches and trades, etc., then on this basis to guide the co-operatives to work out their plan.

We must satisfactorily carry out the three managements: management of production, management of labour and management of finance as they are the most important points in the management of the co-operatives. We must rely on production teams, take them as basis to carry out three "jobs"*. The Dai Phong co-operative is a pattern of good management first of all because it has correctly fulfilled the task and trend put forward by the Party Central Committee.

We must grasp the principle of distribution according to labour. This is a fundamental principle of socialism. In the co-operatives those who do a good work (in quality and quantity) receive higher wages no matter whether they are poor peasants or middle peasants; the tendency of equalitarianism, treatment on the same footing must be avoided. In a co-operative the manager and the members of the managing board who lead the co-operative, assume a great

* Work-day, production volume, and production cost.

responsibility and have many experiences in production must be paid higher wages than the common labourers.

We must correctly carry out the principles of voluntariness, mutual benefit, and democratic management of the co-operatives. Mutual benefit must be enjoyed by the poor peasants and the middle peasants as well. The former must not be favoured to the detriment of the latter, and vice-versa.

In the co-operatives, democratic management must be carried out, the work of the co-operatives discussed and decided by the co-op members, and the latter must clearly see their responsibility and duty of masters of the co-operatives. The Party branch in the countryside has the task to lead the co-operatives, but not to replace the masses to manage them. In the countryside it happens that the peasants and co-op members in some localities misunderstand that they produce for the state plan, for fulfilling a task entrusted by higher authorities, and not for their own interests; worse still, there are people who feel that their interests and the fruit of their labour are violated. This is not correct. *We must make each producer see clearly the aim of production, this aim is the motive force to impel him to produce enthusiastically.* The peasants must fulfil their duty toward the state, such as payment of taxes, selling a part of agricultural products in excess; this is not a sacrifice without return, but a duty of the peasants toward the state so that the state fulfils its duty toward the peasants; the peasants bring their contribution to the state so that the state carries out works in the

interests of the peasants and the society in order to bring welfare and a pleasant life to them and their children, and to build their happy future. We undertake socialist industrialization to serve not only the interests of the state or the working class but the interests of the entire people, the overwhelming majority of whom are peasants. It is necessary to make the peasants understand the significance of their duty toward the state. *Besides this duty, any dealing with the peasants must be fair.*

We have every possibility to build hamlet-size co-operatives (covering from 150 to 200 households) into a new productive force. Every province has good co-operatives, its "Dai Phong co-operatives". The provincial and district Party committees must carefully study the experiences of the good co-operatives and popularize them according to a plan in order to enable the other co-operatives to equal the Dai Phong cooperative after a certain time. It will be a very great success if 90 per cent of the co-operatives can do what the good co-operatives have done. We think that it will be possible for us, in one or two years, to bring 90 per cent of the co-operatives to the same level as the Dai Phong co-operative at present.

Why are there not yet many co-operatives as Dai Phongs? In my opinion, it is because our leadership is not yet very good and we have not thoroughly grasped the contents of the management of co-operatives. The errors committed in the carrying out of the price policy bring some influence to bear, but they are not the main thing which hampers the establishment of

good co-operatives. Practice has shown that the lack of such co-operatives as Dai Phong is not due to the errors committed in the carrying out of the price policy. The problem is to have a change in the leadership by the provinces and districts. It is necessary to go to the villages and co-operatives, and help in the good building of co-operatives. The present Dai Phong co-operative is not better equipped than others in machines, as it produces by manual labour. If Dai Phong is capable of a good management, other co-operatives will certainly be able to do the same. In the coming five-year plan period the situation will undergo new changes: a better industrial development will serve agriculture more effectively and the problem of hydraulics, manure and improvement of farm implements will be more satisfactorily solved. These are favourable conditions which help us consolidate and build good co-operatives.

METHOD TO DEVELOP AGRICULTURE

Hydraulics: It is the most important method for our agriculture at present. As agriculture is not yet mechanized, hydraulics is the chief means to develop agricultural production, that is why co-operativization is closely linked to hydraulics. Hydraulics will create a new productive force to strengthen the new production relations in the countryside. Among our cadres, Party members and people, there are men who have not yet seen all the importance of the hydraulic work. Many provinces have the possibility of carrying out

hydraulic work but have not yet done it. This is a shortcoming. In North Vietnam the average pluviometrical level is 1,800 mm. per year, this is a favourable condition which can render us many services if we know how to utilize it. To satisfactorily carry out the hydraulic work, it is necessary to create a seething revolutionary mass movement.

Improvement of farm implements: Generally speaking, the improvement of farm implements is not well done yet. It is necessary to clearly see the importance of this improvement. It enables to plough more deeply, harrow more carefully and increase labour productivity while saving the toilers' efforts and hardships. We must lay stress on the problem of multiplying crops, and to solve it, it is of great importance to grow crop in due time. This would be impossible without improvement of farm implements. Only a farming work done in due time can increase productivity from 10 to 20 per cent. We are lacking tractive force, but if we improve ploughs and harrows, and use double plough shares, draught-axle plough, labour efficiency can double or triple, the difficulties arising from the shortage of tractive force will be reduced. The improvement of farm implements also has an important significance: it allows us to save manpower and work-days in agriculture, and the manpower thus saved will be used for other works such as development of other branches and trades, increase of riches for the society. For instance: if thanks to the improvement of farm implements we save 100 work-days, such an economy will be used in other works, thus increasing the co-op members' and the co-operatives'

income. The improvement of farm implements is also the necessary step to advance toward mechanization in agriculture. Therefore, we must now pay the greatest attention to it. This is also a revolution in the countryside.

SOME OPINIONS ON THE LEADERSHIP OVER AGRICULTURE

To lead agriculture is a very difficult task. In agricultural production, we often see many causes which lead to one result. In leading agriculture we must simultaneously do many works instead of one. That is the meaning of combined technique. Of course, that does not mean not to buckle down to each concrete work, but we must not do only one work.

A great problem at present is *to fully develop the peasant masses' revolutionary enthusiasm, and create a strong revolutionary mettle in the countryside.*

During the meeting a comrade has put the question: the summer crop having been good, why in some localities do the peasants lack enthusiasm, does the revolutionary enthusiasm not heighten? This is a problem that gives us food for thought. Up to now, in their relations with the peasants a number of comrades have not behaved well in words and deeds. Within our Party a number of comrades have thought that the interests of the peasants and those of the state are contending. This is a wrong view. Our state belongs to the workers and the peasants, to the entire people, and not only to a class. Every work done by the Party and the state must serve the whole toiling

people's interests. The peasants have not fully realized their role of masters of the countryside. It is because their knowledge does not keep pace with the new social changes and also this is partly due to our cadres' shortcomings. In the recent work of collecting and purchasing agricultural products in a number of localities some cadres have not shown a correct behaviour, using commandism and coercion, thus causing lack of enthusiasm among the peasants. Some village cadres said: we would ask the government to allow us to resort to commandism towards the masses in order to fulfil our duty. This way of thinking is very wrong. With the peasants, we must tenaciously educate them, persuade them, and speak to them with sense and sentiment so that they gladly listen to us: it is absolutely impossible to use commandism and authority with them. We must remember that formerly due only to an unpleasant word our peasants sued one another even if they had to sell their houses to cover law suits expenditure. Therefore, *political and ideological work must be intensified*. If it is badly done the enthusiasm of the masses will be curbed.

The Party branch in the countryside is duty-bound to carry out political and ideological work among the peasants. There are Party and Labour Youth members who do not know how to lead the political, ideological, propaganda and educational work among the masses. We must help them in this work.

* * *

In short, I would like to call your attention to the following:

— We must clearly realize and be confident in the possibilities of agricultural production in the north of our country;

— We must strive to build and develop the new productive forces in the countryside;

— We must perfect the management of co-operatives, especially those covering a whole hamlet (150-200 households);

— We must strengthen the measures on agricultural development, particularly on water conservancy and improvement of farm implements;

— We must improve and intensify the Party leadership over agriculture.

Those are only some opinions for your reference.

**IN THE 1962 PLAN
OUR INDUSTRY MUST SERVE
THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WITH STILL GREATER EFFICIENCY***

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I send my warmest greetings to you, and through you, to all the cadres, Party members and people of Haiphong.

Last year Haiphong city underwent a good change. It had the honour of taking the lead in the national emulation movement for industrialization. As it has been reported the industrial plan was overfulfilled by 4.7 per cent in gross value output, thus increasing by 18 per cent over 1960. Thanks to rationalization in production and technical improvement, the Duyen Hai Engineering Works boosted its output 3 times over 1960; the team handling tiny stones of shift A of the Cement Plant reduced the number of its workers from 81 to 14 and, as a result the yield of each worker rose from 3 cubic metres to 40 cubic metres a day. These were the most striking examples. The

* Speech at a Cadres' meeting held in Haiphong on January 18, 1962.

Party Central Committee highly values these achievements and warmly welcomes your strenuous efforts.

These changes were made possible thanks partly to the general situation in North Vietnam and partly to the favourable conditions enjoyed by Haiphong last year. In the past three years, our Party had to concentrate its efforts on the main task which was socialist transformation, at that time we were not yet able to devote all our strength to go deep into the task of building socialism. But in 1961, we began to shift our central task from socialist transformation to socialist construction, thereby creating conditions for us to go deeper into production work. It was all the same in Haiphong. Last year the Party's City Committee paid greater attention to leading industrial production therefore much progress was made in this field.

In 1961, there spread throughout North Vietnam a powerful mass movement in the shape of emulation campaigns known as the movement of Duyen Hai, Dai Phong, Ba Nhat (Three Firsts), Thanh Cong, Bac Ly, etc. Realizing their role of masters, our toiling people began to develop their creative initiative in production. Haiphong which is a city of workers and enjoys a long standing revolutionary tradition, therefore has favourable conditions to be able to take the lead in the industrial emulation movement.

The achievements you recorded last year are only the initial steps forward. We still have many weak points and shortcomings. For instance, as it has

been reported, changes were slow in the city surroundings, food production reached only 70.55 per cent of the target, while agricultural co-operatives were not consolidated.

Haiphong's industries still have weak points. Generally speaking machines operated at half of their efficiency only, the gross output value increased by 18 per cent but marketable products were still below the target figure. In the course of the movement of technical demonstrations, the productivity of each worker rose sharply, but that of each work team, of each workshop increased little.

These weak points and shortcomings have been noticed not only in Haiphong, but also in other localities as well. In some respects they can be said to be serious, for in a poor country like ours, the fact that machines give only half of their efficiency is really bad.

Stepping into 1962, we must realize fully not only our successes and achievements but also our weak points and shortcomings. The further we advance, the greater our achievements, but this does not mean that we shall not commit any mistake, therefore it is not correct to be self-complacent with our successes without realizing our shortcomings.

We are carrying out the socialist revolution which is the greatest, but at the same time the most difficult and complicated revolution ever known in history. The most difficult and intricate problem is how to grasp firmly the laws of socialist revolution, and the economic laws of our country in order to

utilize them correctly. The errors we have committed in leading our economy over the last period were not solely due to the weakness of our leadership in execution, but also to the fact that we have not yet firmly grasped the laws of economic development of our country.

The whole revolution now in the north of our country includes three component revolutions closely linked to one another, namely:

First, the revolution in production relations, a revolution for socialist transformation, aimed at transforming the system of capitalist private ownership into that of socialist ownership, and the small private production of the peasants and artisans into collective socialist production. This revolution has been completed in the main, but has not yet ended, it must be continued, we must go on with our work of organizing individual workers into co-operatives, of making low level co-operatives become higher level ones, and of transforming small co-operatives into large-scale co-operatives. We must go on strengthening the co-operatives in every respect. Parallel to the continuous establishing and expanding of the bases of the state economy: it is important to provide the new form of ownership with a new and suitable material and technical foundation, e.g. a socialist great industrial production.

Second, the technical revolution and implementation of socialist industrialization aimed at changing the backward state of our national economy and pushing forward the development of productive forces. By industrialization, we mean the transformation of the

present small handicraft production into a great mechanized production, the replacement of manual labour with low productivity by mechanized labour with high productivity. Without industrialization it will be impossible to equip the various branches of the national economy with machines and new technique, impossible to raise labour productivity, thereby impossible to improve rapidly the people's livelihood. Without industrialization we cannot speak of completing socialist transformation, of successfully building socialism.

But how correctly to carry out industrialization in our country is a difficult problem. An example: Industrialization requires funds and demands that funds be concentrated and accumulated. Formerly the bourgeoisie accumulated funds by means of impoverishing and ruining the peasants and toiling people. We cannot do that way, we must do in such a way that we can accumulate capitals for building and developing industry while vouching for the gradual improvement of the peasants' and labouring people's livelihood parallel with industrialization.

Take another example: in socialist industrialization another difficulty is how the relations should be between big, medium and small size enterprises, between the workshops run by the central authorities and those run by the local authorities, between modern industry and handicrafts. In handicraft production the problem is also complicated as to which branch should be developed, which one should not, which branch should be mechanized and which one should not, etc.

The Party Central Committee has put forward the simultaneous development of medium-size and small enterprises of industry run by the central authorities and that run by local authorities. This is a conclusion derived from the study of the laws of economic development of our country, laws which need to be applied concretely and thoroughly in the building and development of our industry at present.

Third, the ideological and cultural revolution. This revolution must be closely linked with socialist construction. It is crystal-clear that if the people are not made to understand the advantages derived from socialist industrialization, and to work enthusiastically for it, it is not possible for us to build up socialism successfully.

The three above-mentioned revolutions viz, socialist transformation, socialist industrialization and ideological and cultural revolution, are closely linked with one another in the leadership of the co-operation movement as well as of economic and cultural construction and development. Only by clearly assessing the contents of these three revolutions and their close connections can we have a correct orientation. The contents of our present emulation movement in industry, agriculture, in the cultural and educational branches must also be aimed at these revolutions.

These three revolutions are intended to the fulfilment of our Party's and people's present central task which is the *establishment of the material and technical bases of the socialist revolution in the North*, which bases are no other than the "large mechanized

industry capable of transforming even agriculture” as taught by Lenin.

Industrialization means the use of machines instead of manual labour that is why in building industry we must give priority to the development of heavy industry and take machine-making industry as the core. Of course to make machines we must have metals such as iron and steel, alloy. To make machines function we need electricity, fuel and other things. All these are at the service of machines. At present modern industry accounts only for 20 per cent of our whole industry we must make still greater efforts to be able to set up a modern industry and a modern agriculture.

As we carry out socialist industrialization on the background of agrarian economy, *we must rely on agriculture and consider it as a mainstay for the development of our industry.*

We must endeavour to expand agriculture and make it capable of supplying sufficient foodstuffs to the people, necessary raw materials to industry and agricultural produce for export, and providing funds for socialist industrialization. Not to develop agriculture all-sidedly, vigorously and steadily, is to deprive industry of the necessary conditions for its development.

Consequently in the course of industrialization we must attach great importance to agriculture. We must devote still greater efforts to speeding up agricultural production by multiplying crops, reclaiming virgin land, and raising productivity all over the acreage under cultivation; we must consolidate and

strengthen co-operatives, and set up and strengthen the material and technical bases for the co-operatives in order to make of agriculture a firm foundation for socialist industrialization to set up these bases, to bring a fundamental solution to the problems of hydraulics, fertilizers, insecticides, improvement of farm implements and advance towards mechanization, the active participation of industry without which nothing can be done. In our 1962 Plan, our industry must serve the development of agriculture with still greater efficiency.

Haiphong is a great industrial centre of North Vietnam, it is not correct to let its agriculture lag behind. I have visited the surroundings of the city and seen that in some places only one rice crop has been grown annually, while with adequate irrigation work and manuring, it is possible to grow two or three crops. There are localities fit for animal husbandry, tea-planting or more other trades, but such work has not been done there. We cannot let such a state of things drag on. The suburbs enjoy favourable conditions to develop their production, have a huge market which is the city itself, and are assisted by the city's industries, there is no reason why they cannot raise the number and value of their co-operatives' work-days to the present level of the Dai Phong co-operative's. As we know, at present Haiphong's local industries have not yet followed the correct main orientation which is to serve agriculture; they have not yet endeavoured to help the suburbs' agriculture; Haiphong's industry and agriculture have not yet formed a single bloc.

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At present there is a movement for fraternalization between agricultural co-operatives and industrial enterprises, schools and offices, this is a good thing. But the most effective brotherhood is that industrial enterprises help agricultural co-operatives improve their farming methods and implements, and that agricultural co-operatives ensure the supply of food-stuffs such as meat, fish, vegetables, eggs, etc. to the workers, pupils, cadres, office employees.

Last year, Haiphong did not make use of the whole credit earmarked by the State for capital construction. If part of this unused fund was invested in agriculture, it would surely help agriculture develop.

As I know, Haiphong is being puzzled as to the orientation to be followed in production. Only in the second half of 1961 was a plan for production worked out. This is not a good sign. The city's local industry must first aim at serving its agriculture and help raise the value of work-days in agricultural co-operatives. Local industry must not wait and see whether the co-operatives require its assistance, whether they are in a position to pay for manufactured goods, before mapping out its plan of production; instead, its responsible cadres must go down to the villages and co-operatives to inquire about the needs of agricultural production and to see what the city's industry can do for them. Lasting interests but not immediate profits should be reckoned, and lasting interests reside in the fact that economy will develop and so also will industry and agriculture.

Local industry must aim at improving farm implements and the artisans' tools and gradually equipping

agriculture and handicrafts with improved implements in order to advance towards semi-mechanization and mechanization. Apart from improving means of production, attention must be paid to making food-processing machines, consumer goods with materials available in the region, and building materials for local needs. At the same time, local industry must study how to assist local transport and communications. When talking to our comrades of the city's Party Committee, I proposed that the city's planning committee should include two sections, one dealing with the central authorities' plan and the other working out the plan and orientation for local production. I think that should this be realized both central-run and local-run industries would make headway.

I want to emphasize that *the important and decisive problem in production is to lay down correct orientation and tasks*. If production orientation and tasks are not correctly laid down production will not be successful. The greatest responsibility of the comrades leading production in enterprises and co-operatives is to elaborate correct trends of production for their units. If they fail to do so, the best solution is to replace them by more competent people. During the Resistance war, Party members and cadres sacrificed themselves to kill the enemy and save the country; today, in peace, they must give up themselves and endure hardships to work out correct trends for a better, greater, more rapid and cheaper production. This is a very difficult problem. If we do not dedicate ourselves, strain our brains to think, devote all our abilities for research and study, we cannot do it. We

must bear in mind and have a deep hatred for the poverty and backwardness suffered by our country and people in the past, and be determined not to allow this situation to drag on; only by hating that poverty can we mobilize our revolutionary feelings. Once our revolutionary spirit is raised, we shall become more clear-sighted, aware of the problems confronting us and able to solve them. Our people are very heroic and equally very intelligent and creative. If we rely on them, devote all our abilities to think out, study and research, we are sure to discover many problems and find the way to solve them correctly.

To speed up socialist construction in the North, besides correct trends for production we must have correct trends for consumption.

Let us consider the food problem for example. We have been so far used to eating rice, but we know that rice-planting is easily subject to natural calamities, one or two crops out of three or five would fail. If we eat only rice, its supply cannot be ensured satisfactorily owing to its unsteady production. Therefore we have to eat subsidiary crops in addition to rice. The subsidiary crops such as sweet potatoes, cassava roots, maize, etc. are good foodstuffs, containing many nutritive elements as have been shown by a scientific analysis. Subsidiary crops are less subject to natural calamities and usually yield great output. To cut the consumption of rice, we must eat subsidiary crops instead. This is a necessity. Cadres, Party members and soldiers must set good examples in the implementation of the food-saving policy.

At present our peasants who directly produce rice eat also subsidiary crops as part of their meals; it would be unfair to them if we who do not directly produce rice want to eat only rice? We must devise means to process subsidiary crops into tasteful and nutritive food. For example: we must grind maize, sweet potatoes and cassava roots into flour and make various kinds of cakes or prepare a combined food with sweet potatoes, cassava roots, meat, fish, etc.

Food processing must be done satisfactorily. If we can do so we shall be able gradually to change the custom of eating only rice. In many European countries, there are localities whose staple food consists of only maize and potatoes which are very tasteful due to a good preparation.

To have commodities for export, sometimes we must cut or abstain from the consumption of the products which are not yet actually necessary in the country. For example in the near future, such agricultural products as groundnuts, tea, jute, castor-oil seeds, etc, will be reserved mainly for export. There will be no harm if we temporarily abstain from eating sweets made of groundnuts whose export will give us in exchange machines, textiles and many other consumer goods we need. We must realize this to willingly practise thrift.

Now let us consider the clothing problem. The climatic conditions of our country are unfavourable to cotton production, and as a result, this raw material cannot be sufficiently supplied to weaving mills whose production has been so far dependent on imported cotton.

However, over the past years the import of cotton has met with difficulties. We must study the production of artificial cotton and silk, and this requires a period of time. Therefore in clothing, we must be now thrifty and buy clothes only when the need arises.

We must make cadres, Party members and the people at large realize our difficulties and be aware that in the coming years, while making headway we have to face difficulties and privations. These difficulties are inherent in the process of growth. We are determined to overcome them but it takes time.

If we want to build an independent and relatively comprehensive economy endowed with modern industry and agriculture, and an advanced culture and science, there is no other way than mainly relying on our own means. We must practise *self-sufficiency*, utilize all available potentialities in manpower, wealth and natural resources of the country to produce goods with good quality, in great quantity, and at cheap price. We will turn out all the items which can be produced at home and will not import any raw material or equipment which can be found in the country. Self-sufficiency must be practised first of all by the whole nation, but each locality or enterprise must also practise it. We must think out ways and means to use up the efficiency of our machines, carefully look after the State properties, rationally utilize labour, etc. This is also an expression of the sense of self-sufficiency.

We must also correctly understand what self-sufficiency means. It does not mean that no co-operation

is possible between various localities, units and enterprises. It does not mean parochialism and departmentalism. First of all each locality, unit or enterprise, etc., must strive to exploit the potentialities of its own. The central authorities must build the material and technical bases for the whole nation, but the local authorities must take part in the fulfilment of these national tasks, meanwhile they must, within the limit of their possibilities, build the bases they need. For example, Haiphong has conditions to make bricks, tiles and cement, then it has to develop the production of these materials to build houses for workers and employees, satisfy the requirements of the neighbouring localities, and if possible to sell to the neighbouring provinces such as Kien An, Hai Duong and Thai Binh. Indispensable raw materials can be imported or brought from other localities to embark in new branches and trades in order to utilize all the local labour in the production of more commodities for local consumption and for export. By so doing we are not against self-sufficiency.

The most important thing in a revolution is its objective which will not be reached if we have no revolutionary attitude and methods. Therefore each of our cadres must *build for himself a correct revolutionary attitude*. In the recent ideological remoulding drive we paid attention to educating the toiling people as a whole in the consciousness of being collective masters. But one remoulding drive is not sufficient to make them fully conscious and we must continue to educate them. More than others we cadres and Party members must set an example to the masses.

Nearly 400,000 Haiphong inhabitants entrust the Haiphong Party branch with the responsibility of leading them. We are responsible before the people, for a good production and for their improved livelihood. In the management of production, we must have the attitude of a real master. Formerly a capitalist never allowed his enterprise to lay unproductive, but he did his utmost to find out raw materials, devise new items, and rationally improve the organization of labour. Of course his objective is to seek profits. We must have the same attitude in the management of production and the people's livelihood, we must be resourceful and thoughtful in elaborating production trends, improving organization and technique. We must concern ourselves about the people's work, health and livelihood. Some of our cadres and Party members are influenced by the way of life of public servants of the former regime, and hence their sense of responsibility is not high enough. They practise red-tape and bureaucracy, stand aloof from the masses, work perfunctorily, thinking that in any way they receive their salary at the end of each month. This is not a revolutionary attitude. At present as our wages are paid according to our labour, some get higher wages than others, depending on the quantity and quality of the work done. This is the most rational method to speed up production. But some have failed to realize this and are jealous about wages and thereby their sense of being masters and their revolutionary consciousness regress. No difference in wages can limit our sense of being masters which, on the contrary, wants us clearly to

realize that the work done to the society must be duly paid, those whose contribution to the society is greater and better must be paid higher wages than those whose contribution is smaller and of a lower quality.

If all people are paid the same salaries, the result will be that labour productivity goes on decreasing and the society cannot advance. To strongly push forward the movement of socialist revolution, we still need a *genuinely revolutionary method*. The most important revolutionary method at present is to know how to follow the mass line and to master science and technology.

Revolution is the work of the masses. Therefore we must go deep into the masses, know how to mobilize them and make them clearly realize that socialist construction is a work of their own so that they may be more enthusiastic, bold in thinking and doing, and devote all their strength and abilities to socialist construction.

We Party members and cadres, must know how to follow the *mass line* in every work, hold with the masses democratic discussions, give ear to their suggestions, have confidence in and really rely upon them. If we do not rely on the abilities and wisdom of the masses and together with them think out, research and study, we cannot find a correct production trend, overcome difficulties in production, rationalize production, improve technique, etc.

We must *promote democracy, at the same time strengthen the centralized leadership, reinforce the sense*

of organization and discipline. The great socialist production is a centralized production brought under plans, which requires a centralized leadership and concrete plans, division of work and close co-operation between various enterprises and branches of production, otherwise production cannot be successful.

At present, the revolution requires that we must have not only sufficient revolutionary enthusiasm, but also scientific knowledge. We cannot satisfactorily lead production in general and industry in particular without scientific knowledge. The manager of an enterprise or the leader of a branch must master the scientific knowledge of his own enterprise and branch. The leading cadres in towns must also grasp scientific and technical knowledge. As we are still weak in this respect, we must strive to study with eagerness. Unnecessary meetings, must be avoided to spare time for study.

I wholly agree that at present to guide production is just like to conduct war. We must have comprehensive plans, be expeditious, and concentrate our forces on production. In my opinion to reinforce guidance we must attach importance to the following points:

1. *We must reinforce further the Party branches* because they are the units in daily contact with the masses. We must stir the revolutionary spirit of the Party members, make them know how to rely on the masses, follow the mass line to fulfil the task of production, and grasp the knowledge of production, science and

technology. If we Party members do not have a revolutionary attitude and do not set a good example, then we cannot mobilize the masses to wage revolution.

2. *We must reinforce the specializing sections.* To direct military operations there must be headquarters to grasp the situation, put forth views relating to tasks and direction of the fight. The specializing sections of the Party leadership are like the headquarters of the High Command. The Party leadership must grasp the problem affecting the general situation, therefore it must have specializing sections which will help it go deep into various aspects. We must consolidate and perfect the specializing sections, this does not mean to increase the personnel, but there must be comrades who can grasp technique and the situation of the bases and can help realize various problems and give suggestions for their solution. The specializing sections must avoid red-tape in style of work, they have to go into the masses, to the bases.

If our organization is consolidated and perfected, our style of work active and scientific, we will be able to control the movement and strongly push it forward.

As I have said above, in 1961, the movement in Haiphong has made good headway. I wish you greater progress in 1962. Over the recent years, the Duyen Hai workshop has trebled its production, I wish that this year other workshops will follow the example set by Duyen Hai and will double their production.

My confidence has its ground. Only half of the efficiency of our machines has been used. If Duyen Hai could treble its production, with strenuous efforts we will be able at least to double our entire production. It is my belief that Haiphong which has long standing workers with a glorious revolutionary tradition and a strong mass movement, enjoys every condition to take the lead in the movement waged throughout the country.

CONCENTRATION OF LEADERSHIP, CONSOLIDATION OF CO-OPERATIVES, DETERMINATION TO WIN DECISIVE SUCCESSSES IN AGRICULTURE IN THE COMING YEARS *

Today you have finished discussing the report by the Committee for Rural Affairs, and the conference is to be closed shortly. The report prepared elaborately with the participation of the organs at central level and in various mountain zones and provinces, could sum up the movement of co-operativization and production in mountain areas; it is a good report.

However, in the work dealing with mountain areas as in any other work, we should not think that only a couple of times doing them will allow us to have an all-sided view, and that in the light of the resolution all problems have been fully and very correctly

* Speech delivered on August 31, 1962, at the conference on the development of agricultural production in mountain areas.

solved and need only to be followed to the letter without any further consideration. That is not so. To realize things is a process which calls for better and deeper understanding day by day. Problems will be realized more and more clearly and completely in practice. Therefore I hope that in future, in implementing the resolution of this meeting, you will make a profound study, discover various problems and propose the necessary revisions and amendments as to guiding principles, lines, policies and measures in order unceasingly to better the work regarding mountain areas.

Today, I speak of this point because recently many of our comrades carried out the directives and resolutions of the higher levels stiffly, mechanically, without creativeness, sticking to each sentence and each word. For example, reading in the resolution of the Party Central Committee that the co-operatives must be enlarged to the extent of a whole hamlet and include from 100 to 150 households, a comrade has asked, "What is to be done as my hamlet has only 90 households?". And that comrade was very uneasy finding it very difficult to correctly carry out the resolution of the Party Central Committee.

Well, after this good report, yesterday and this morning comrades Nguyen Chi Thanh and Chu Van Tan have expounded their views and summarized the discussions. Therefore, I have not much more to say in the matter of agricultural production in mountain areas. I only speak of the movement for co-operativization in general.

THE MOVEMENT FOR CO-OPERATIVIZATION IS GOOD AND HEALTHY

We have assessed the movement for co-operativization in our country as good and healthy in so far as not only almost all the peasants have joined co-operatives but the gross output value of agricultural production has increased by 44 per cent annually during the years of transformation. However the co-operatives are not good in all respects as the good ones account for 25 per cent, the ordinary ones from 45 to 50 per cent, and the weak ones from 25 to 30 per cent; moreover, in the good and ordinary co-operatives the households are not in the same situation, the income of the majority of them have increased while that of others marked time or even dwindled; hence, not all our cadres have agreed to the above-mentioned assessment. Of late, many events have given some cadres anxiety and misgiving. Other comrades who did not know theory previously, now learn in text-books at the Party's school, that co-operativization must be carried out only after industrialization and think that perhaps the Party Central Committee may not be aware of this theory and that they have discovered a very new problem, hence they cast doubts about the movement of co-operativization in our country.

The foregoing trends of thoughts of a number of comrades — though small — have stemmed from their just concern about the best way to advance towards socialism. But spreading far and wide, these tendencies will exert a bad influence on the determination to carry out the movement for consolidation and development of co-operatives.

We must know that the road we are embarking on is a new one; it directly takes our small individual production to a large-scale socialist production without passing through the stage of capitalist development. It is new not only to our country but even in our camp, there is not yet a comprehensive theory concerning this problem. At the Second Congress of the Communist International, Lenin said that the communists must clearly expound and theoretically demonstrate the principle of directly advancing toward socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development. The theory on agricultural co-operativization referred to in the present textbooks is the general notion of the typical experiences gained by the Soviet Union in which the movement of all-out co-operativization took place at the same time when the state equipped the collective farms with a great number of tractors. At present in our camp, besides Mongolia, three countries — China, Korea and Vietnam — are carrying out agricultural co-operativization in their advance towards socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development. As the work is underway, only some experiences are not sufficient to be summed up. While our understanding of the subject is only based on experiences and not on theory, we cannot solve the ideological problem radically. Hence, if practical conditions are favourable such as bumper crops, increase in income, improvement of the livelihood, etc. things will go smoothly, but if any difficulty crops up, doubts and confusion will easily arise.

We must not base ourselves on incomplete experiences to assess the whole movement. The road of development of history is a road forward not in straight line, but tortuous. Usually after a long distance forward, there is a short distance backward which as a rule prepares for longer distances forward and is called the turning point of history. The period of transformation is an important turning point in history and generally speaking, it is quite possible that production does not develop and even temporarily decreases. This is a normal course.

Actually our situation is different, our production does not drop but increases. According to statistics, during the above-mentioned three years of transformation, the gross output value of agricultural production increased annually by 4.4 per cent. During the four years from 1958 to 1961, this increase was 5 per cent on the average. This development is good or at least normal. Of course agriculture does not develop equally in all respects, nor do various localities. Some districts progress, some others regress but this is a normal manifestation of all revolutionary movements waged by the masses, especially in their initial stages.

CO-OPERATIVIZATION IS AIMED AT TRANSFORMING AGRICULTURE INTO A GOOD BASIS FOR SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION

To have a clear-cut mind, we must reconsider the following problem: Is it more correct to advance to

socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development as we have done recently — that is to take socialist transformation as a central task — or to wait until completion of socialist industrialization to carry on transformation?

First of all, we must have a clear-cut standpoint that we have no other road than to advance directly to socialism by bypassing capitalism, because the capitalist road leads the working people to poverty and to exploitation and oppression by others, and is energetically opposed by the working people. Furthermore this road does not help production develop most rapidly. But how to advance to socialism? To carry out co-operativization before technical revolution or vice-versa? How to carry out co-operativization and industrialization? This is a very great problem which our Party and our people must solve. The Third National Congress of our Party clearly stated: Agriculture must serve as the basis for industrialization. In the Soviet Union, this point was also dealt with by Stalin. But the point we speak of has not quite the same contents as in the Soviet Union in former times. Prior to the establishment of the Soviet Union, capitalism already developed strongly in Russia whose industry ranked fourth among the European countries. To say that agriculture is the basis for the development of industry, means that it is an outlet for industrial products, a supplier of raw materials and food, and a reserve of goods for export in exchange for equipment needed by the national economy. To carry out industry, we must have raw materials and one of the basic raw materials is food,

because in the matter of serving production and the creation of labour force, food can be considered as a means of production like iron and steel or fuel, etc. We must guarantee sufficient supply of this means of production, of this raw material that is to say we must have rice, meat, vegetables, etc. not to speak of the raw materials that agriculture supplies light industry to turn out consumer goods for the development of industry. It is clear that to develop industry, we must have a great quantity of *agricultural goods*. But in the Soviet Union, prior to the October Revolution, nearly all the agricultural goods were supplied by landlords and rich peasants. After the October Revolution, land reform shifted farming to small individual production and as a result, the volume of agricultural goods decreased notably though the gross output of agricultural products was not lower than the pre-revolution level, because the economy of small farming mainly consisted in producing for self-sufficiency and little for sale. This situation caused difficulties in the stocking of food by the State and hampered industrial development. The Soviet Union radically solved this problem by shifting small farming to large-scale mechanized collective production, organizing collective farms and equipping them with machines. After co-operativization the volume of agricultural goods did increase more abundantly with every passing day.

What about us? After land reform, ours remained a backward agricultural country. We have not yet an industry in its correct sense. True, in 1957, industry accounted for 31.4 per cent of the gross industrial and

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agricultural output. But the major part of it came from handicrafts, the part played by modern industry accounting for only 10.5 per cent and mainly consisting of goods produced by the industry of exploitation for export, the production of means of production to equip agriculture and other economic branches in the country was very small. Under these circumstances, when we say that agriculture is a basis, it is in some sense similar to what was done by the capitalists formerly when they carried out industrialization (naturally with quite a different class contents and method), that is to say *we must accumulate funds from the labour of the peasants and workers, and develop agriculture before embarking on industrialization*. But our per capita land holding is too small: three sao (1,080 sq. metres). With this area under individual farming, a peasant produces enough for himself, the capacity of accumulating funds is next to nil, the main character of an individual economy based on this area is only self-sufficiency, the quantity of agricultural goods will be very small; again an individual economy based on this area mainly deals in food and has little resource to grow industrial crops, etc. and as a result there is no means whatever to develop industry. What then is to be done? Can we go back to the rich peasants' and landlords' economy? In truth this is also a path. By means of compelling the peasants to live in poverty and to die, the rich peasants' and landlords' economy can supply more food, grow more industrial crops and accumulate greater funds than small individual economy. But as

toiling people, why do we lead ourselves to poverty and death?

What then is to be done?

The only path is to bring agriculture under co-operativization, rally the peasants to create a new division in production and farming, a new division and a more rational utilization of labour, in order to produce food more abundantly, grow industrial crops, rear cattle, etc., thus providing greater supply of marketable foodstuffs and raw materials, and increasing the income of the peasants who will then be able to contribute to socialist industrialization.

The experiences gained by the Soviet Union in the first stage of the movement of co-operativization clearly demonstrate that only by bringing the peasants under co-operativization with utilization of rudimentary or somewhat improved farm tools, when machines were not yet introduced, could production be increased greatly and the area under cultivation enlarge from 30 to 40 and even 50 per cent.

Practice of the past years has also testified to this truth. After three years of transformation, the area under cultivation, the fundamental means of agricultural production, has been boosted from 2.7 million to 3.1 million hectares. Individual farming cannot bring about this increase because the two required conditions to enlarge the area under cultivation are irrigation and reclamation of virgin land which are only possible with co-operatives. With individual farming not only is it difficult to expand the area under cultivation but the crops might face a

precarious and dangerous situation should a natural calamity like that of 1960 occur. The output of rice, subsidiary crops, and industrial crops has all risen, and as said above, the value of gross agricultural output has increased by 4.4 per cent annually. The real income of the peasants during three years of transformation has increased by 2.5 per cent per year (that of the land-poor peasants by 3.3 per cent). These points alone are sufficient to show that to enlarge production the co-operatives have actually created new possibilities which are denied to individual farming.

To make agriculture the basis of industrialization we must *develop agriculture and industry harmoniously step by step and to this end we must first of all bring agriculture under co-operativization*. If we wait for industry to develop before bringing agriculture under co-operativization there will be no means to help agriculture and industry develop harmoniously and industrialization will be impossible. Or to create this equilibrium for industrialization without bringing agriculture under co-operativization, we have no other way than to follow the path of capitalist and rich peasant economy, and exploit the peasants and workers to the utmost. We are determined not to do that. The Third National Congress of the Party clearly stated that agriculture is the basis of industrialization. If we think that we can carry out industrialization without bringing agriculture under co-operativization, it is clear that we have not yet profoundly understood the significance of the word "basis".

Industry and agriculture are two main productive branches, two main parts and the backbone of the national economy. Regarding harmonious development, *the most important thing is equilibrium between these two economic branches. This equilibrium which must be carried out step by step*, can be obtained only by bringing production under a plan, and to this end, both industry and agriculture must be based on the same socialist relations of production and guaranteed by a minimum of material and technical basis and only on this condition can equilibrium be firmly maintained. We create the initial equilibrium through agricultural co-operativization. On the basis of agricultural development, we will build and develop industry, and on this basis we will again step by step supply materials and technical equipment to agriculture and build the material and technical basis for agriculture, thus speeding up the development of agriculture; by so doing, we will progress harmoniously and each of our step forward contributes to a more proportionate balance between industry and agriculture. We are making greater efforts so that in a period of about ten years, we will create a very firm equilibrium between industry and agriculture. At that time, our economy will undergo a radical change. We will have conditions to develop industry and agriculture at a high rate.

That is about industrialization. Agricultural co-operativization also serves the interests of the overwhelming majority of peasants. Though favoured with the assistance and co-operation of the brother countries industrialization will take a rather long

time to complete due to our limited possibilities. If we just wait for industrialization, the tendency to spontaneous capitalist development cannot be avoided and the overwhelming majority of peasants will be again victims of oppression and exploitation.

Therefore, to advance to socialism without going through the period of capitalist development we must transform agriculture, private capitalist industry and commerce and carry out socialist industrialization, but in the first period we must consider socialist transformation as the main task and begin with agriculture. This proceeding is adequate to the situation of our country.

Up to now, the overwhelming majority of the toiling peasants have joined co-operatives. The production during the years of transformation and the proportion of advanced, ordinary and weak co-operatives have allowed us to assert that the movement of co-operativization is in general good and healthy. However, as co-operativization is a very new work it has many problems which were solved satisfactorily in localities where they were understood thoroughly, and unsatisfactorily where they were not.

The resolution of the Party Central Committee on co-operativization has clearly pointed out that co-operativization includes two main aspects which are transformation of production relations and transformation of technique. But in the first years a great many localities laid stress only on the transformation of production relations, and even went so far as to see only the transformation of production relations, worse still they emphasized too much the fight against

spontaneous capitalist development. As for the very important contents of co-operativization which is realization of new division of labour, new trend for production, new organization of labour, it was not sufficiently emphasized. Even at present many comrades do not fully understand this contents. I think that the weakness of a number of co-operatives lies mainly on the obscure understanding of this contents.

The change of the trend of production is a very important problem *to meet the new requirements*. Over these last years the requirements have undergone very great changes in structure and quantity. The requirements of industry are new ones, the raising of the living standard of the peasants and other toiling people also called for many new requirements. To lead co-operativization we must realize these new requirements to give an adequate trend to production.

WHAT DOES BASIC COMPLETION OF CO-OPERATIVIZATION MEAN?

As the contents of co-operativization is not yet clearly understood, there are among us some cadres who have a confused notion as to "what does basic completion of co-operativization mean?"

At present, the co-operatives have covered 88.9 per cent of the total number of toiling peasants' households in North Vietnam. By so saying we only mean that they have just been joined. But this does not mean the whole contents of co-operativization.

The most important contents of co-operativization is the new division of labour which only about 250 co-operatives of the Dai Phong type could carry out successfully; with regard to these 250 co-operatives we may say that co-operativization has been completed in the main. Now what about tens of thousands of other co-operatives? They are in the process of carrying out what the Dai Phongs have done. Therefore, when the Party Central Committee says that the movement of co-operativization has been completed in the main, it means that this completion is underway and not yet ended. At present the great majority of co-operatives are in the process of establishment and development and their prospects may be either good or bad. Our immediate task is to transform the overwhelming majority of co-operatives after the model of the present Dai Phong co-operative; if this can be done, we will be able to eliminate the possibility of a bad development, and basically complete the movement of co-operativization. This will require a period of about three years. Naturally co-operativization will not stop here but afterwards we will advance towards completing technical revolution in agriculture.

What have we to do in the coming three years or so to complete co-operativization in the main? *We must develop the possibilities of the co-operatives whereby collective production is better than individual one.* What can collective production do better than individual one? These are more rational utilization of labour, enlargement of acreage, hydraulics, manuring,

improvement of farm implements and selection of seeds.

— The most important problem is *reorganization of labour*. We must know to organize it adequately in order to utilize it more rationally and to reduce labour expenditure, thereby bringing about more labour redundancy to be used in other works. Collective production is in a better position to utilize less labour than individual production. According to theories and the experiences gained so far, co-operation alone can create new productive forces and raise labour efficiency. Besides, the co-operatives have better conditions than the individual farmers to improve farm implements. Therefore, with the same area grown to the same crops, the co-operatives should have utilized less labour than the individual farmers did formerly. Unfortunately a number of co-operatives utilize more labour than individual farmers. This is not good.

To utilize labour most rationally is a key problem because in the condition when our means of production are not yet much improved, this is a basic point which gives the co-operatives superiority over individual farming. According to the condition of the soil and farm implements of each locality, we will clearly determine the number of working days an hectare of land needs for ploughing, weeding, harvesting, etc. On the basis of this elaborate calculation, we will distribute labour rationally.

By so doing, we will have a great deal of redundant labour. Hence, an important problem arises: how to utilize this redundant labour in order to create more wealth. To reach this aim, a correct *trend*

for production must be laid down: what crops to grow, what animals to breed, what side-occupations to go in, etc. The co-operatives alone cannot find a very good trend. They must be assisted by central and provincial levels which are able to grasp the requirements and possibilities of the whole country and provinces as well. At present the central and provincial levels have not yet satisfactorily helped the co-operatives in this respect, for example: they have not yet clearly known what raw materials exist in each locality, whether redundant labour can be utilized to process these materials, where to sell the products thus turned out, etc. The state must consider the co-operatives as economic units and component parts of the whole economy and know how to develop their economy, in order to yield the greatest economic results for the co-operatives themselves and for the national economy as well. To reach this aim, the state organs, especially the Planning Board and other organs must give their assistance.

— Together with the reorganization of labour, it is necessary to *establish the material and technical basis for the co-operatives*. The new production relations require that the level of this basis should be higher and that this establishment be of prime necessity to raise the productivity of the co-operatives. Only by demonstrating that the material and technical basis of the co-operatives is superior to that of individual farming can the new relations of collective production become steady; and only the co-operatives have

the possibility of establishing such a basis while individual farming has not.

The most important means of production of the co-operatives at present is land. Therefore it is necessary to *expand the acreage of land under cultivation* more largely than with individual farming. As said above, the two requisite conditions for enlarging acreage are irrigation (to increase crops) and clearing of virgin land; the three-year transformation has recorded many achievements in the increase of crops. From 1.45 times in 1957, the ratio of land utilization rose to 1.6 times in 1961, and this ratio should reach, say, 2 times in the forthcoming years. Expansion of the irrigation network is of utmost importance, but irrigating with technique is of no less value.

Increase in acreage requires increase in *manure*. Raising productivity calls for greater quantity of manure. The co-operatives need *lime* — and they only are in a position to build lime-kilns — to improve the quality of the soil. Besides lime, our country is able to supply phosphate fertilizer, dung, azolla, other green composts and silt. The state will see to the supply of phosphate fertilizer; the co-operatives will prepare manure from azolla and other green composts, and where conditions permit, from silt in partial quantity. The co-operatives and their members' families will see to the collection and processing of dung manure. In a long period to come, as our possibilities in nitrogen fertilizer are not so great, we must endeavour to prepare manure from green composts, dung and silt.

The weakest link in our chain of agricultural production at present is *improvement of implements*. Since long the local and central authorities have not paid due attention to this matter. Means of transport top the list. According to incomplete figures, transport absorbs now more than half the manpower available. It is obvious that with the improvement of implements a great manpower will be released for manuring, irrigation and other works.

Improvement of farm implements is a complicated problem. The most difficult is to do in such a way that this improvement suits the soil, the climate, the plants and in general, the farming technique in our country and also in each region and locality. To be successful, the organs devoted to technical study and the enterprises turning out farm implements will discuss and exchange experiences with the peasants, carry out tests in production and utilization, and try these implements many times before engaging in mass production. A production carried out with subjectivism will be doomed to failure.

A preliminary calculation shows that in the First Five-Year Plan, mechanization will do 10 per cent of the main farming work. Whether or not this figure will be raised and by what means is still a problem to be solved. Anyhow for a long time to come, semi-mechanized implements will remain the most indispensable. They will be partly supplied by the central authorities but the major part will be manufactured locally to suit local needs, while the central authorities will be responsible for the supply of raw materials such as wood, steel and iron. So far, there has been

a great shortage of wood in the countryside to make farm implements. This serious shortcoming should be realized by the government, including the Home Trade Ministry, and corrected at any cost. Not to concentrate our efforts on accelerating the improvement of farm implements right now is not to grasp the substance of co-operativization.

In the selection of seeds, generally speaking, many co-operatives have not done so well as the individual farmers did formerly. This is not due to the shortcoming of the new production relations but to lack of responsibility and of organization. Obviously the co-operatives have greater possibilities than the individual farmers in the production of good seeds. For instance, they can reserve a good soil to prepare an experimental seed-bed and manure it with a bigger quantity of fertilizer; thus they are certain to obtain good seeds; it is absolutely impossible for individual farmers to do so. The co-operatives are also capable of erecting good granaries and making good containers to preserve the seeds in good condition. In the years to come we shall try to do likewise.

In addition to what has been said above, the co-operatives must build storehouses and drying yards. Thus they must produce more means of production than in the period of individual farming, and only the co-operatives enjoy such conditions, while the individual farmers are less favoured in this regard.

This is in brief the most important work to be done to basically complete co-operativization, i.e. the reorganization of labour and establishment of the material and technical basis for the co-operatives.

When such a work is done, the co-operatives will be able to develop their potentialities; their production will be boosted to a greater extent, the income of the co-op members will increase substantially, the co-operatives will be thoroughly consolidated and their superiority will be beyond trial. A number of co-operatives have been successful in this regard. Such a possibility is not far fetched, it does exist actually. What is important to turn this possibility into reality is our own efforts. This is the responsibility of the entire people, of the central and provincial authorities and of the co-operatives. Do we have sufficient competence, courage, energy and knowledge to translate this possibility into reality? We do. The fact that there exist from 25 to 30 per cent of good co-operatives is an eloquent proof. This percentage is not big, but it is not small; it does not represent some particular co-operatives, but the standard ones. Our task at present is to raise the 70 or 75 per cent of ordinary and weak co-operatives to the level of the existing 25 to 30 per cent of fairly good co-operatives or to a higher level. This should be done in the three years to come. To this end, we must be clear-sighted in understanding and energetic in action. It would be very dangerous if the work is not done satisfactorily and marks time for several years. One of the most important factors to complete co-operativization is the *assistance given to the co-operatives by the socialist state*. This is an indispensable lever to push forward the new production relations and make them mature. This is a principle put forth by Lenin when he dealt with

cooperativization in the Soviet Union. Our state has done this work so far, but to be in earnest, it is still negligible. Take an example: it was said in the resolution of the 14th Session of the Party Central Committee that industry must supply means of production to agriculture, but little has been done in this respect; in the meantime many engineering works have not enough work to do. Though ranking first hydraulics lags behind. The farm implements produced are of poor quality while the possibility of the co-operatives is limited. The state has not yet worked out a policy in this respect so much so that these farm implements pile up in storehouses while the countryside runs short of them. Fishing boats are lacking in great numbers and tools for the clearing of virgin land and afforestation are very few. Such examples are legion. The state must use its material force to bring influence to bear on agriculture in order to consolidate the new production relations and put production on a most profitable track. To this end, it is necessary to work out a policy of long-term assistance including investment, price, industrial production, etc. and to take into consideration all the abiding interests of the society when this policy is mapped out, if we want to solve this problem correctly.

What is said about shows that the co-operativization movement enjoys all objective conditions for its success. The fact that the movement meets with some shortcomings is not due to the erroneous policy on co-operativization, or to the mistake in the essence of the co-operativization movement, or to other

factors which do not allow us to accomplish our task satisfactorily, but obviously it is due to the fact that personally we have shortcomings, our endeavours are relaxed or the time assigned is insufficient.

When we say that co-operativization is better than individual farming this does not mean that this superiority is automatically obtained by having the land pooled and manpower used in common. When manpower and land are pooled, the co-operative thus set up can create a new productive force and a new possibility to get the better of individual farming. This possibility is positive but even so, it is only a possibility. Man's endeavours are necessary to turn this possibility into reality. To enable co-op members to live a better life than the individual farmers, we must achieve the above-mentioned tasks.

Ignoring this point, some comrades cast doubt on co-operativization when they see that the co-operatives newly set up are obviously not superior to individual farmers. Clearly this deduction is erroneous.

NEW PRODUCTION RELATIONS IN AGRICULTURE — FAMILY'S ADDITIONAL ECONOMY

To establish a good co-operative another problem arises which consists in knowing which *method of production* suits best the rapid development of production in the present state of our agriculture. In my opinion the method of production in agriculture must differ from that in industry. The following situation is observed in the countryside: for his real income a

co-op member derives 44.5 per cent from collective economy and 55.5 per cent from family's additional economy and other sources. On top of this, according to the figures supplied by the General Department of Statistics, a co-op member draws from the 5 per cent of the land left for his own use a production representing 60 or 70 per cent of the value of the production derived from the 95 per cent of the land he had pooled in the co-operative.

Is this situation good or bad, rational or irrational, dangerous or not? How can it be explained? I think the comrades who attend to theoretical matters in the Party had better try and give it a theoretical explanation.

In my opinion, this situation typifies a method of production in agriculture which cannot exist in industry.

With regard to the role of collective economy, though it now represents only 44.5 per cent of a co-op member's real income, yet it is most important in so far as it is the backbone of the economy of this co-op member and the mainstay of the agricultural economy of the state, that is to say of the entire people.

Collective economy manages 95 per cent of the land, and mainly grows food crops and industrial crops. It supplies food to the co-op members and industrial plants and marketable foodstuffs for the needs of industrialization. We have said above that if collective economy is not organized, there will be no means to increase acreage and hence to boost the yield of paddy, other food crops and industrial crops in the present condition of our technique in order to

meet the new requirements of the entire people and of the co-op members themselves. Over the last few years, production was boosted mainly by the increase of acreage which was made possible thanks to the manpower disposed of by the co-operatives to do irrigation work and clear virgin land, while this is denied to individual farming.

Though collective economy gives the co-op members 44.5 per cent of its real income only, it enables them to fulfil their duty toward the state (paying taxes and selling food); in value of utilization this income is paid in form of food which is the most indispensable means of existence. It is precisely because collective economy provides the co-op members with this means of existence that they are able to develop family's additional economy and draw a substantial income from it. In other words, it is collective economy which vouches for the family's additional economy.

Suppose there is no collective production and land is left to individual farmers. On this private land, the peasants have first to grow food crops for their own use and for discharging their duty vis-à-vis the state. The best they can do would be to grow two crops yearly and to harvest 200 kgs of paddy per sao in maximum as collective production does at present. However to obtain this result, they and their families would have to devote nearly all their efforts to growing this food crop. This does not include the works which individually they cannot do, such as fighting against natural calamities, irrigation, clearing of virgin land, expansion of acreage. As a result, the per capita acreage cannot be maintained at three sao

(1,080 sq.m.) and it is rather difficult for them to grow industrial crops on this area to raise their income. As nearly all their time and strength are devoted to food production what remains of their labour to devote to family's additional economy — making the most use of remaining land and ponds, stock-breeding, side-occupations — is very small. Under such conditions it would be impossible for them to derive the same income from family's additional economy and industrial crops as they draw at present, beside their income from food crops. This shows all the more clearly that the 55.5 per cent of the income the peasants draw at present from private economy is guaranteed by the 44.5 per cent of income they receive from the co-operatives. Though still small in value, this income from collective economy is the mainstay. However this economy would not remain there. It has great possibilities to develop: expansion of acreage, increase of food production together with raising of the ratio of industrial crops, development of collective animal husbandry parallel with stock-breeding in the family and particularly development of economic branches and trades. This does not include the possibility of stepping up investment, undertaking works to serve production — this undivided property which however belongs to the co-op members will be effective to raise productivity; this does not yet include the possibility of harnessing redundant labour of collective economy to the building of public utility works which are not divided but are nevertheless parts of the actual

income of the co-op members and contribute to the improvement of their livelihood.

We must correctly realize and make the peasants correctly realize the most important role played by collective economy vis-à-vis the entire people and vis-à-vis their own life so that collective economy can be developed and consolidated.

On the other hand, family's additional economy is the most important and indispensable complement to collective economy. It is indispensable because it can rationally make use of the labour force which collective economy cannot utilize entirely (including main labour, secondary labour, labour of old agers, of juveniles). It is indispensable to produce what is necessary to the peasants' livelihood which collective economy is not yet in a position to supply (vegetables, meat, eggs, etc.) It is indispensable to engage in the lines in which collective economy lacks technique and, because of its concentration on a large scale, is less efficient than small-scale individual economy (such as poultry-rearing, pig-rearing, and even cattle-breeding). Not only is family's additional economy necessary to the co-op members it is also necessary to the society and the national economy at large, because for a long time to come it will still remain an important source of supply of foodstuffs to the society; at present it can be said that almost all the foodstuffs sold in the market come from family's additional economy. (In the Soviet Union, beside the family's additional economy of collective farmers, that of workers and public servants — in agricultural

produce—in the regions where conditions permit, accounts for a substantial part).

The method of production is: parallel with collective economy to grow food crops and industrial crops to engage in important line and gradually pave the way for animal husbandry, we must practise family's additional economy. This most appropriate method of agricultural production can make the most rational use of labour and land, push forward production and satisfy the requirements of the society and the farmers themselves. Here there is no contradiction but *unity between individual farming and collective farming, between collectivism and state undertaking by the entire people*. Our method is to consolidate and strengthen collective economy and on this basis, to develop family's additional economy. With such a method the ratio of collective economy in the co-op members' income will rise gradually and the percentage of income derived from family's additional economy will be lowered, but the volume of both of them as well as the whole income of the co-op members will be increased in an absolute manner. It is however difficult to establish the appropriate proportion of each of them. Equitably, superiority should lie with collective economy; nevertheless, this proportion can vary according to the conditions obtaining in each locality; in mountain areas even a proportion of 40 per cent of collective economy and 60 per cent of family's additional economy does not matter, because the 40 per cent of the former is most important in so far as it guarantees the 60 per cent of the latter and cannot be affected by it. Only by developing collective

economy can family's additional economy be expanded. Regarding this proportion as well as regarding other problems of co-operativization, we must constantly have two objectives in mind: to bar the path to capitalist development and to expand production to the full. At present while land, the principal means of agricultural production, has become the property of the collectivity and the co-operatives have received full support from the socialist state, capitalism has no vantage ground to develop; to do so capitalism requires two conditions: concentration of means of production into the hands of a small number of people while the majority, deprived of means of production have no other way than to sell out their labour for a living. As the fear of re-emergence of capitalism has vanished, it mainly depends on us to fix the ratio between collective economy and family's additional economy in such a way that production can develop most rapidly to meet the requirements of the entire people (including the peasants) in agricultural produce.

We must clearly realize this method of production to *satisfactorily distribute labour between collective production and production by the family*. The method followed by the Dai Phong co-operative is very good; labour is divided between production by the collectivity and production by the family, with priority given to the former. In fact these two kinds of economy are but one in substance. Collective economy is necessary to the farmers as well as the entire people and individual economy is also indispensable to them both; to the peasants these two kinds of economy feed them and are equally indispensable,

because they are a method of production appropriate to agriculture.

Life requires not only food, clothing and housing, but also culture, medical care, etc. There are two ways to meet these requirements; either to produce agricultural products in great quantity and sell them to build schools, hospitals, cultural houses, etc. or directly to build these institutions with our own hand. We must do this in a most economical way and according to each circumstance and locality. At present there is redundancy of manpower in the countryside. The most economical way is not only to follow the first method but also the second. Therefore, after utilizing labour in collective production and individual production, it is necessary to *harness collective labour to building schools, hospitals, club-houses and digging public wells, etc.* By so doing, we are in a position to satisfy the cultural and intellectual requirements of the peasants without waiting for agricultural production to develop to a high level. Only collective labour can do such a work. This is also one side of the new process of our agricultural production. Many localities in Thai Binh province have applied this method. In this province, many hamlets possess schools though their production is not high. This is a good point.

In a word, the most important problem in the new process of production is to utilize the labour of the peasants in a most rational way. Only labour produces value. In order to rationally make use of the labour force, it is necessary to establish a fair relation

between collective production and individual production; between labour directly harnessed to the production of farm produce and labour used to build up the material and technical foundations for enlarged reproduction; between labour utilized to produce commodities and labour to build establishments for public utility in order to improve the material and cultural life of the people. If these tasks are satisfactorily fulfilled the labour used in the co-operatives will create higher value with the result that the requirements of the people will be satisfied and the material and cultural life of the co-op members improved.

SIZE OF CO-OPERATIVE : HAMLET SIZE IS RATIONAL

Basing ourselves on the experiences we have gained, a co-operative covering a hamlet (involving from 100 to 150 households) is in many ways superior to a small co-operative. In North Vietnam out of 57 advanced co-operatives receiving rewards recently 55 have more than 100 households each. This is a practical experience gained in our co-operativization movement.

Why is this so? Because the *new division of labour* is possible only with co-operatives covering from 100 to 150 households, whereas co-operatives embracing 30 households apply simple co-operation and pool land and manpower to grow only food crops as in the past. At a time when there is no great change in tools of production, it is precisely the

new division of labour which gives the co-operatives superiority over individual farming. Only the new division of labour makes it possible to do irrigation work, to increase the number of crops and clear virgin land and consequently to expand the acreage of arable land and simultaneously to grow food crops and industrial crops, to carry out agricultural production and go in for professional practices, to develop collective economy and family's additional economy... From simple co-operation to new division of labour, we have made a big leap forward as far as the quality of productive force is concerned. This big leap can be compared with that formerly made by capitalism in its advance to handicraft enterprises.

But is the hamlet-size given to a co-operative rational? I say it is rational, because a hamlet is a unit of residence, administration, and production of long standing in Vietnam's society: the inhabitants of a hamlet have with each other close relations regarding land and kinship, and the land is concentrated. In area, a hamlet is not too small — and this enables the expansion of division of production — and not too big (in North Vietnam a hamlet covers an area from 50 to 100 hectares on the average). One hundred hectares is not too big a size and is not beyond the managerial ability of our peasantry. In Vietnam, especially in the South, a rich peasant can easily cultivate from 50 to 100 hectares by indigenous method. One hundred hectares is also suitable for intensive cultivation; rice calls for careful farming and it is possible that a big size co-operative is not advantageous, even with mechanization.

The most important problem to be solved by a co-operative covering from 100 to 150 households is to apply at any cost the new division of labour, that is to grow food crops and industrial crops at the same time, to do irrigation work, clear virgin land, expand acreage, practise other trades (the Dai Phong co-operative has gone in for 11 trades) and develop family's additional economy. As formerly the peasants remained idle for six months in a year, the organization of trades is now of utmost importance.

However it is not good if everything is done on the hamlet-size basis. *This kind of co-operative is chosen for the convenience of mapping out plans and practising cost accounting.* Only by taking the hamlet-size co-operative as basis for the elaboration of plans, division of labour, division of production and of course, distribution of income, can its new force be developed. *But it is not convenient to take the hamlet as unit for the management of production, application of technique and management of labour, and a division in production brigades is necessary.*

An important problem which arises at present is rapidly to *stabilize ownership*. Those co-operatives which have had a rational size ought to declare themselves stabilized. Bigger co-operatives which do not work satisfactorily should firmly and cautiously be divided into smaller co-operatives and declare themselves stabilized. To say that a co-operative embraces from 100 to 150 households does not mean to merge two hamlets each covering 80 or 90 households into one co-operative embracing from 100 to 150 households, but to organize each of these hamlets

into a co-operative and declare all of them stabilized. It is also necessary to declare stabilized the part of land left at the disposal of each household and to say to the peasants that this ownership is stabilized for ever, without further change, so as to enable them to work devotedly for the co-operative and for themselves.

Another important problem is to stabilize the *organization of production*. It is necessary to stabilize for a long time the number of agricultural workers, acreage of land, number of farm implements and draught animals, and the trend of exploitation for each production brigade. By so doing, the peasants do not worry about their production and are not anxious whether there will be an upset in the future; they will be able to hold production in hand, calculate the requirements of production and reproduction, do the preparatory work in time and concentrate materials on the land without fearing that they will not profit from it; they will be able to raise labour efficiency and improve technique, etc. The stabilization of organization of production will spare elaborate calculations every year regarding acreage, labour, work-points, etc. and enable the peasants to devote themselves entirely to production.

The trend of production is very important. The creation of value through labour depends to a great extent on the programme of production. Hamlet-size co-operatives should be taken as bases for the blue-printing of plans, and only when the plans of the co-operatives tally with the state plans of the whole

country and of each province can the production by co-operatives be considered as the most economical.

At a time when managerial cadres are lacking, the hamlet-size co-operatives make it possible to concentrate competent cadres on the management of co-operatives, thereby improving the programmes of production and bettering the production of the co-operatives. It is not necessary for a production brigade to be headed by a man having a high educational standard but by a man conversant with the technique of production, which is most important.

To take the hamlet-size co-operative as a basis to map out plans and practise cost accounting and to take the production brigade as a basis to guide production are a means to develop the good points of hamlet-size co-operatives and to do away with the apprehension that production cannot be properly attended to in a big co-operative. The other day, when asking the heroes of agricultural labour as to the most important problems confronting the co-operatives at present, I received the reply that these problems are firstly the plan of accountancy and finance and secondly the production brigades. That's right.

In a word, it is rational to set up hamlet-size co-operatives but production brigades should be taken as the bases to lead production. This is a sound method, responding to our capacity. Later on, even equipped with machinery, the co-operatives, it seems to me, should not be established on a larger scale. For its development agriculture must not embark

mainly on the path of extensive cultivation and clearing of virgin land (because our possibility is very limited in this respect) but on the path of intensive cultivation and increase of the number of crops for the acreage of our arable land is very small and rice cultivation calls for a most elaborate technique. A medium-size co-operative would probably be more suitable.

This is not to say that at present we have enough cadres to do good planning work for the co-operatives. We do lack them. So we must endeavour to train them, as well as the accountants, who are also very important.

What is said above refers to the co-operatives set up in the delta. Regarding the co-operatives established in the highlands, their appropriate size has been stated in the report made by the Committee for Rural Affairs.

A KEY PROBLEM: STRENGTHENING LEADERSHIP OF PROVINCIAL, DISTRICT AND VILLAGE COMMITTEES

You have certainly read in the paper *Nhan Dan* the article on the "District Committee 5 No's". With such a district committee, the co-operatives cannot progress. Formerly, each farmer worked individually and thought of himself but today with collectivization this situation cannot remain. Without the Party's management, production is not possible. If there are "District Committees 5 No's", it is really dangerous!

To help the co-operatives adopt a correct line of production and to shift farming to the direction the most advantageous for the entire people and the peasants, the provincial and district Party committees, on the one hand, must understand the state plan and the provincial plans, and on the other, the situation of the soil, labour and the capacities of the co-operatives, and on the basis of this understanding help the co-operatives draw up good production programmes.

In the coming three years, I think that we must call up as much as possible cadres of district level from central, provincial and district offices to give them some months' training on the state plan, the provincial plans and agricultural technique, then to send them as reinforcement to the co-operatives. According to preliminary estimates, one third of the total number of co-operatives can receive each a responsible cadre of district level. When the line and plans of production are drafted and good and able cadres have come to reinforce the co-operatives, we will launch a large-scale and powerful mass movement among the peasants to discuss the plans of production, build the material and technical basis for the co-operatives, criticize and overcome bureaucracy, commandism and arbitrariness to bring about an atmosphere of enthusiasm, joy and easiness in the countryside as well as genuine democracy and vitality. If we can do so and I think that there is no reason why we cannot do so, I am sure that after a period of three years, the co-operatives will be firmly consolidated and we will achieve

a victory of decisive character on the agricultural front.

We have every reason to be optimistic over the co-operativization movement and its prospects. We have made firm steps. In a great revolutionary movement of the masses, there are, of course, the right and wrong aspects, but generally speaking we have made progress. New and good signs have emerged. They are not many, but not few, not odd, but already widespread. The possibility of helping these new and good signs to develop and cover the whole movement already exists in the objective state of things. Of the utmost importance is leadership in which the decisive part is played by the cadres at various levels. Many of these cadres do not understand agriculture. We must seriously study and go to the countryside to work with the peasants and help them. And we will succeed.

SOME IDEAS ON AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE MOUNTAIN REGIONS

As I said in the beginning, I have not much more to tell about agricultural development in the mountain regions, I only expound some views.

In order to give the best trend to production in the mountain regions, it is of utmost importance to be fully aware of the position and characteristics of the regions.

The position of the mountain regions is very important. Firstly, they have immense possibilities to

expand production, thereby they can help enormously the development of co-operativization in the delta by means of absorbing manpower therefrom, thus rapidly solving the problem of redundant labour in the delta. Secondly, the mountain regions are very important for industrialization in many respects: ores, forestry, industrial crops, hydro-power, food, etc. Thirdly, it is very important for national defence.

To understand the characteristics of the mountain regions we must consider them within the framework of the national economy. Naturally these are characteristics of the mountain regions, but whether they are important or not, must be decided upon by the situation and the need of the over-all economy. For instance: if the per capita acreage in the delta is one hectare, the characteristics of the mountain regions will not be looked upon any longer as characteristics; now, as the per capita acreage in the delta is one-tenth of an hectare only, there is great characteristic in the mountain regions: great possibilities of developing economy and lack of manpower, therefore it is possible to transfer a large number of working people from the delta to the mountain regions to develop economy, hence increasing the volume of agricultural goods both in the delta and the mountain regions and meeting greater requirements of socialist industrialization. One of the most important characteristics of the mountain regions is that owing to its possibility to develop production (especially in industrial crops, stock-breeding and forestry), the mountain regions can

co-operate with the delta to harness labour, divide farming work, and utilize land most rationally in order to develop production along the most appropriate trend and effectively serve the country's industrialization.

The second noteworthy characteristic is that while the position is important and the prospect of development great, the level of the Party and Party committees of various levels in the mountain regions is low in general; in some places farming standard is most advanced but in some others it is very primitive.

Another characteristic is the problem of nationalities. If it is not tackled skilfully, solidarity between the various nationalities cannot be maintained — solidarity between the majority people and other nationalities, or between the minorities themselves.

Once the characteristics of the mountain regions are defined, it is very important to draw up in an appropriate manner the trend of production. In the report to the conference the following figures have been given: the total acreage of the mountain regions is 11.5 million hectares; the acreage under cultivation at present is about 600,000 hectares and the remaining 11 million hectares are forests and bare hills. Of the 11 million hectares, 900,000 are rocky, 5.1 million are forests of bamboos and timber trees, the remaining 5 million are hills covered by tiger grass or denuded. Of these 5 million hectares, 1 million can be cleared for cultivation. In this situation, the possibility of developing food crops still exists but is limited, however the possibility of

developing stock-breeding, industrial crops and forestry is tremendous. In growing food-crops on hilly soil, a major problem must be solved to maintain fertility and prevent erosion. With regard to rice planting the best way is to make terraced fields and apply a number of other technical farming methods as pointed out in the report, but we must have labour force and water in sufficient quantity. On the contrary the problem can be easily solved with regard to stock-breeding, industrial crops and forestry. Therefore, the problem of erosion must be solved not only by farming technique but — which is more important — by direction of farming. Animal husbandry is a very great trend of the mountain regions which are most suitable in this regard on account of their hilly land. In rocky mountains, goat-breeding is possible. At this conference little has been said of goat-breeding. I think that is a great shortcoming. Goats are easy to raise as they are fit for our climate, need little minding and multiply very rapidly. They give us meat, milk and hide, and can be raised for wool, because sheep do not bear the heat in most of our mountain regions. Just think, if we raise goats on 900,000 hectares of rocky forests at the rate of 5 or 6 head per hectare, we will have 4 million head at least. Is this number a very important source of supply of meat to feed half a million persons? I think it is. To bring up 4 million goats, one or two years are not enough, but ten years. Now, at the end of this ten years' period can we have a herd of 4 million goats on 900,000 hectares of rocky forests? I am sure that where there is a will there is a way.

Development of animal husbandry poses the problem of changing food-ration. Our people are accustomed to eating rice as staple food. This, as we know, is not quite good, especially when the development of our economy and culture requires a growing amount of mental work, calling for a greater quantity of nitrogen. We must strive gradually to change the composition of our rations into mealy substance, meat and milk. In our mountain regions where meat and milk can be more easily produced than rice, the food problem can be easily solved if we change our food-ration.

Necessity is the factor urging on production. I've seen in Yunnan province, China, that all women wear shoes. Shoes are for them an imperative necessity which urges them to produce what is needed for shoe making. Our people are not accustomed to drinking milk. If we get the habit of it and milk has become a necessity, then our people will raise more buffaloes, cows and goats for milk. We must create this necessity and use it to stimulate the people to develop stock-breeding. Man cannot live on grass and leaves but he can live very well on meat and milk. Buffaloes, cows and goats are like natural machines turning leaves and grass into milk and meat for us. Leaves and grass are plenty everywhere and we do not know how to use them, why don't we get these natural machines turn them into food?

We have half a million buffaloes. Recently, the people in many places milked them and got from each cow-buffalo 2 litres of milk daily. Buffalo-milk is highly nutritive. A person living on a diet of two

litres of milk and several hundred grammes of mealy substance or simply two litres of milk a day will be healthier than living on 500 or 600 grammes of rice as at present. If half a million buffaloes are milked how much rice will be saved!

We must proceed from the situation of the land and create new needs to shift production to the most profitable trend. If we do not change our diet and consequently our trend of production to develop stock-breeding, the 6 million odd hectares of hilly and forest land will not be turned to good account. This is a long-term task lasting about ten or fifteen years. This period is not long. Our Resistance lasted nine years, and the struggle waged by our compatriots in the South since the Geneva Conference in 1954, has lasted eight years now! Fifteen years will not be very long. We must strive so that within fifteen years from the present conference that is by 1977, there will be everywhere in the mountain regions a great number of buffaloes, cows, goats and horses and plenty of milch-buffaloes, milch-cows and milch-goats.

Another major trend of production is development of forestry and industrial crops. If the situation of our forests remains as it has been at present, that is if our forests are cleared to grow manioc and rice, within a few decades, almost all our mountain areas will be denuded. This is an alarming prospect. Not only will the soil of the mountain regions be eroded and sterile, the valuable forest products exhausted, but the climate of North Vietnam as a whole will change radically and suffer a damage of unconceivable

extent. What will then be the noxious influence this will cause to agriculture and economy as a whole?

Therefore, we must preserve our forests, transform them and carry out afforestation.

We must plant perennial industrial crops and turn bare hills into luxuriant forests grown to perennial industrial crops. We must plant what gives the highest economic value suitable to the climate, preserves the fertility of the soil and fights against erosion. We must think of growing by the side of these perennial crops, low-lying crops which are profitable and protect against erosion. These are problems calling for careful study.

There must be a strong determination to expand forests and industrial crops.

These are inexhaustible sources of profits. Ores will be exhausted after 50 or 100 years mining, but forests and industrial crops will last indefinitely. The same can be said of stock-breeding. Therefore, we must have long-range plans for the development of afforestation and industrial crops, covering a period of ten or fifteen years, and we shall draw ever lasting profits from them. We do that for our own profit, for the profit of the coming generations and of our nation. For the coming generations and the future of our nation, we must think of developing forests and industrial crops right now. This is the task set for our entire nation.

After this conference, the local organs and especially the central organs, must carefully study the characteristics of each province and locality to draw up an appropriate trend of production.

Therefore, I think that to clear virgin land is not to devastate forests, but to take the people to the mountain regions for developing stock-breeding, growing industrial crops, exploiting forests and doing afforestation.

We must strive to fend for ourselves in food, to solve the food problem basically and in a sound manner. We must do our utmost to develop food crops. But this does not mean that we shall grow food crops only for food and pay attention to growing food crops only. Our food is made of rice, other mealy crops, meat, milk and eggs. We can develop stock-breeding, forestry, industrial crops, grow medicinal plants, and export meat, timber, medicines and industrial crops in exchange for rice, maize, wheat, and so on. This is a more economical enterprise, one which gives us more initiative, because the progressive trend is to expand the international division of labour and not to live in autarchy (of course we must be prepared for untoward happenings). To step back into autarchy is to run counter to the progressive trend of economic development, to embark in an unfavourable tendency.

I think that where railways is available, we can transfer a large number of people from the delta with the necessary supply of food for them to engage in stock-breeding, grow industrial crops and do forest work. This is a profitable enterprise. Of course this must be carefully considered and achieved step by step.

For the good development of agriculture in the mountain regions, there are many important political problems which call for attention. There must be

appropriate policies regarding the cadres, nationalities, purchases and so on. To these problems, you have contributed many good views and the central organs must give them proper consideration and study. For instance it is not correct to let people waste four days to go and buy a few metres of cloth, and what is worst, to get poor quality cloth. In many places, the people must walk two or three days to the town to eat a bowl of vermicelli soup. We must be aware of all these things in the people's daily life to find a good solution and to bring enthusiasm to the minority nationalities and make them realize that our regime is really their own! We must know that the mountain regions have complicated problems which should be given proper consideration.

As in all other tasks, to satisfactorily develop agriculture in the mountain regions, the Party's leadership, the decisive factor, must be strengthened: the quality of the local Party committees should be improved and the cultural, political and technical levels of the local cadres should be raised.

In brief, we must strive to take advantage of the characteristics of the mountain regions, to make the economy of the mountain and the delta regions complement and assist each other and link to each other closely, to make full use of the soil and labour potentialities, to make North Vietnam's agriculture develop all-sidedly, vigorously and steadily so as to serve as a good basis for socialist industrialization and the improvement of the well being of the people in both the delta and the mountain regions. The major trend of development set for the mountain regions is

stock-breeding, forestry and industrial crops, parallel with the maximum development of food crops. Projects for ten or fifteen years should be elaborated. Rice planting needs only annual projects, but stock-breeding, forestry and industrial crops call for long-term projects.

Agricultural development in the mountain regions is a revolution, which will change the method of production and the way of life of our highlanders. We respect the customs and habits of the minority people, but we must also help them get rid of bad and obsolete customs. More attention should be paid to the mountain regions by the departments at central level, the planning, industrial, agricultural, trade, educational, health and cultural services. However the problems of the mountain regions cannot be solved once and for all, but part by part.

Let's work with a will. In the next fifteen years there will be a radical change in the outlook of the mountain regions in our country.

ENTHUSIASTICALLY TO MARCH FORWARD TO FULFIL THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN*

AN IMPORTANT CHANGE IN OUR ECONOMY

Comrades,

The Eighth Session of the Party Central Committee had been prepared fairly well. Drawing on the experiences gained in the implementation of the Resolution of the Third National Congress of the Party and the Resolutions of the Fifth and Seventh Sessions of the Party Central Committee, the recent Session of the Party Central Committee has thoroughly reviewed the guidance and direction of the economic build-up in the past years, and made an all-round and complete assessment of the successes and difficulties in the building of socialism in conditions of North Vietnam advancing to socialism from a poor and backward economy, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. The Session has more profoundly confirmed the

* Speech delivered at the conference for vulgarization of the Resolution of the Eighth Session of the Party Central Committee (May 18, 1963).

lines, steps and tempo of socialist industrialization in the North; at the same time it has developed concretely and further enriched a number of problems relating to the orientation for the initial building of the material and technical basis of socialism, such as the relations between accumulation and consumption, between industry and agriculture, between economic build-up and consolidation of national defence, the orientation for accumulation, investment and capital construction, etc. All this radiates the revolutionary character of the plan materialized in the most vigorous development of the spirit of self-reliance, industriousness and thriftiness for national construction, and in the efforts made to exploit our existing and latent possibilities in order efficiently to overcome the weak points in our economy.

For these last few days, comrades Nguyen Con and Le Van Luong have thoroughly expounded the spirit of the Resolution of the recent Session of the Party Central Committee. I will not speak again of all the problems dealt with in the Resolution, but develop some fundamental points to help you thoroughly grasp the leading idea of the Party Central Committee.

In the assessment of the economic and cultural development in the North of our country from 1958 to 1962, we all at this conference unanimously agree with the Party Central Committee on the successes we have scored. But we must more clearly realize the practical situation of the North of our country when it first entered the stage of socialist revolution in order more completely to assess our very great successes.

We must not forget that we are advancing to socialism from a very poor economy dependent on foreign countries. For over eighty years of domination French imperialism advocated the policy of hamstringing our economy, transforming our country into a source of raw materials and a consumption market for the "metropolitan" industry. All goods, from the means of production to consumer goods, even needles and thread, were imported from abroad. However only after three years of economic rehabilitation, three years of transformation and two years of socialist construction can we at present produce by our own means almost all consumer goods necessary to our people's livelihood; we have also begun to build a number of initial bases of heavy industry to serve as a foundation for our economy; as a result *we have changed a backward economy dependent on imperialism into an independent and sovereign economy advancing to socialism step by step. This is our greatest success, an important change, a qualitative change, a landmark of a development by leaps and bounds of our national economy.*

Only by comparing the North of our country with other South-East Asian countries which were in the same situation as ours, can we clearly realize the scope of the revolutionary changes which have taken place within a short period of time in the North of our country. At the Sixth Session of the National Assembly (second Legislature), comrade Pham Van Dong has reported that visitors from South-East Asian countries say that their countries abound in more beautiful goods which are however imported,

that on the contrary our goods are not so abundant and beautiful, but are produced by our own means which is a good policy. We can be gratified and proud with this because we have set forth correct lines and strictly implemented them.

In the years of economic rehabilitation and socialist transformation, besides the restoration of a number of former industrial enterprises, we concentrated our forces on agriculture and, with the assistance of the brother countries, rapidly build a number of light industry enterprises to satisfy the essential requirements of our people's livelihood after fifteen years of a ruinous war; at the same time we have developed a step further the industry turning out means of production. However a number of comrades, having not yet thoroughly grasped the realities of our country and clearly realized the role of agriculture and light industry, one-sidedly stress the priority development of heavy industry and object that we have scattered our forces to develop light industry without duly concentrating our possibilities on heavy industry from the very start. Now we can confirm that the lines and steps set forth by our Party are correct, notwithstanding the fact that we are somewhat slow in realizing the change of the revolutionary stage. After we have fundamentally completed socialist transformation and taken socialist construction as our central task, we advocate the priority development of heavy industry in a rational way, but still attach importance to agriculture and light industry, and we have clearly pointed out that all socialist industrialization is

aimed at meeting the people's ever increasing requirements in food and clothing, housing and education. These lines are the application of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the practical conditions obtaining in our country.

Looking back at the section of road we have travelled, we realize all the more clearly the above-mentioned great progress, and are all the more confident and enthusiastic.

Such great success is due to the efforts made by our people, but also partly to the brother countries' valuable assistance without which such a rapid progress is impossible. At present we are facing a revolutionary situation fraught with difficulties. A number of comrades failing to understand the nature of those difficulties and their origins, have doubts and queries. Immediately after the victory of our Resistance war to improve somewhat our people's livelihood which was too low, we utilized an important part of the money given as aid by the brother countries, to import consumer goods. This was a necessity, but a case of force majeure. Today we possess industrial bases to turn out consumer goods by our own efforts. We must reduce to the utmost the importation of consumer goods to have money for the importation of machines, materials and raw materials. Our enterprises have newly come into existence; they still meet with difficulties in finding materials and raw material and their capacities are not yet fully used; meanwhile the people's requirements as well as their purchasing power increase with every passing day, therefore at times goods

are more scarce than before. These difficulties arising from the change of a dependent economy into a sovereign one, are inherent in the successes and growth of our economy, which we must overcome at all costs. If we do not rapidly build our sovereign economy, the situation will be much more difficult. Only by considering things objectively and scientifically can we understand the development of our national economy at present. In fact, previously we utilized a major part of the aid granted by the brother countries, to import consumer goods, some of which were not badly needed. We should have been more thrifty and utilized that money rationally and economically in order to embark on a more rapid construction.

A STRAIGHT ADVANCE TO SOCIALISM FROM
A BACKWARD AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY
BYPASSING THE STAGE OF CAPITALIST
DEVELOPMENT IS A VERY DIFFICULT
AND FIERCE REVOLUTION

A very new and important point in the Resolution of the recent Session of the Party Central Committee is that we have more thoroughly realized the situation of our country and assessed the advantages and difficulties in our work of building socialism, the main characteristic of which being our straight advance to socialism from a poor and backward agricultural economy bypassing the stage of capitalist development. It is not that we did not realize this

situation, but the more realities we experience, the more profound our understanding of the characteristics of our country and the more objectively and scientifically we grasp the content of socialist construction in the practical conditions of the North. This does not mean that we have realized all problems, because the process of understanding the laws of development of our country is a process of development which, going from superficiality to profoundness, and from one-sidedness to all-sidedness, must be amended by practice.

According to the fundamental law of social development, that is the law on the necessary unity of the production relations and the productive forces discovered by Marx, usually the productive forces which develop to a certain level, will make the old production relations inadequate and this necessarily leads to the suppression of the outdated production relations which are hamstringing production, in order to set up new and more adequate production relations for the development of the productive forces. This is a universal law valuable with regard to all economic and social forms. However Marx was cautious not to allow his theory on the economic and social forms to be transformed into a charter which all nations must follow. Lenin also said that the regular character of the general development of world history does not exclude, but on the contrary include periods of development marked by the originality of their forms or order of development. We know that a universal law has on the one hand an independent character and on the other, a different impact and manifestation

according to historic conditions and makes itself felt through specific laws inherent in each historical regime. In practice the above-mentioned universal fundamental law has manifested itself differently in the countries having different practical conditions. Socialist revolution on the one hand obeys the universal laws, but on the other has different features in different countries, for example with regard to the form of dictatorship, to the order of the process of transformation and construction, etc. In the north of our country, socialist revolution was not prompted by a large-scale developed production which required that the capitalist production relations which hamstring it must be wiped out. Vietnam's revolution has taken place in an era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale and, moreover in the conditions that the socialist system has come into existence, grown in strength and become a decisive factor of the development of society; again Vietnam's revolution is under the leadership of a proletarian party; in these conditions socialist revolution in our country is a natural development of national democratic revolution.

It is precisely the above-mentioned conditions which have allowed that our country, as Lenin predicted, after liberating itself from the imperialistic yoke, bypasses the stage of capitalist development fraught with sufferings, to advance straight to socialism. Right at the outset, when the productive forces were still very weak and labour done mainly by hand, we utilized the people's democratic power which is in essence a proletarian dictatorship, to carry out

socialist transformation of individual and private capitalist economic sectors, and establish new socialist production relations. This also means that the superstructure, especially the proletarian dictatorship, has a positive impact on the substructure, transforms it, and due to this we can remove the contradiction between an advanced power and advanced political regime on the one hand and the backward social relations on the other, which is a striking contradiction in North Vietnam's society when it first enters the period of transition. After the basic completion of socialist transformation, with the assistance of the brother countries, we shift our central work to the building of socialism and gradual building of a large-scale socialist production aimed mainly at creating a productive force befitting the new production relations which have been set up, at the same time we keep on perfecting the new production relations and continue to complete socialist transformation.

But what is the economy which we are building and how is its structure? We should not make a simple comparison between Vietnam's straight advance to socialism and the advance to socialism of the underdeveloped Asian republics within the Soviet Union because here there exists a basic difference. An underdeveloped republic within the Soviet Union is part and parcel of a single economy, each republic develops according to a general and unified plan of socialist building in the Soviet Union as a whole. On the contrary our country is an economic unit. To say it is an economic unit means that it is a social body considered as an entity. That

social body develops according to the universal law of any society which is building socialism, at the same time according to the laws particular to a society which bypasses the stage of capitalist development to advance straight to socialism; besides, it also develops according to the economic laws particular to a social body which has its own labour power, its own resources, its own production forces, and the volume, nature and pattern of its own requirements, etc. In other words, that social body develops according to its essential inner relations.

Of course between our country and others within the socialist camp there is a close relation, but it is co-operation and mutual assistance between different economic units, between different social bodies.

The requirements arising from the inner relations, an essential of our economy, are *urgently claiming that we must endeavour to build a material and technical basis for socialism, a heavy industry serving as the foundation for our national economy, a large-scale industry capable of providing all the branches of the national economy with new technical equipment; only on this basis can we carry out a rational new division of labour in our society, a rational utilization of our country's labour power and resources, and attain a high labour productivity*. Only by so doing can we consolidate the new production relations and provide the socialist production relations with an adequate content of productive forces. This is the sole correct path we must follow to be able to satisfy the people's material and cultural requirements, once for all to free our people from poverty and backwardness so that they may live a

happy and civilized life, get rid of all possibilities of capitalist revival, and bring socialism to complete success. To build a large-scale industry we must endeavour to accumulate funds. On the other hand life also requires that *we must satisfy the ever increasing and ever higher needs of the people in their livelihood*. That is to say while accumulating funds for an enlarged reproduction at a relatively rapid rate, we must step by step improve our people's livelihood. These binding problems are urgently confronting our entire Party and people. To solve them we must wage a difficult, complex and hard *revolutionary struggle*.

Lenin said that when, due the twists and turns of history, a country must embark on socialist revolution, the more backward it is, the more difficulties it will meet with in shifting from capitalist relations to socialist relations. In the case of our country which bypasses a historical stage, the stage of capitalist development, to advance to socialism, the difficulties must certainly be greater. With regard to the relatively developed capitalist countries, in the period of transition to socialism, the most difficult and fierce stage is socialist transformation because the resistance of the bourgeoisie must be smashed in town as well as in the countryside. Once this task is fulfilled, socialist building will be much more favourable because there already exists a large-scale developed industry. As for our country, the socialist transformation is difficult and complex but not violent because the bourgeoisie is small and weak, the toiling peasants, handicraftsmen and small traders are ready to go together with the working class to socialism.

On the contrary, socialist building in the north of our country, especially in the first stage, is, in one sense or the other, a much more difficult and fierce revolutionary struggle.

As has been clearly pointed out in the Resolutions of the Third National Party Congress and the Seventh Session of the Party Central Committee, to build socialism in the North, we have no other way than to carry out socialist industrialization, set up a balanced and modern socialist economy, co-ordinate industry with agriculture in good proportions and take heavy industry as foundation. We must build a relatively comprehensive industry and a system of heavy industry. The building from scratch, of such a balanced modern economy requires a very great investment.

Moreover, this building cannot be carried out according to any order or at any rate, casually, today one enterprise and tomorrow another, gradually and not minding the time of completion. On the contrary, we must guarantee a gradual balance in our economy in general; and in industry in particular, we must co-ordinate in a balanced way heavy industry with light industry; in heavy industry itself, we must also build in good proportions its component branches such as iron and steel, electricity, engineering, chemicals, building materials. Moreover, there must be a balance between industry, agriculture and transport and communication, etc. At present we are hard pressed by the necessity of securing a gradual

balance in the building of the material and technical basis of socialism. As agriculture develops a step, the law of balance requires that we must speed up industry a step further, and conversely. In building an industrial branch or base, we must think of the development in good proportions of a number of other industrial branches or bases. For example the development of metallurgy entails the balanced development of electricity and engineering; the lack of electricity and engineering will curb the efficiency of metallurgical bases and vice-versa. If we build a factory, we must timely build a number of other factories to ensure its smooth running such as power plants, bases to turn out raw materials and spare parts. If we have already a balanced and modern economy, the problems set to us will be completely different. In this case, of course there frequently arises the question of overcoming imbalance which however is not acute because imbalance and the work of overcoming it have taken place within the framework of a qualitatively unchanged material and technical basis, the unbalanced situation, once arising, will be overcome by means of a quantitative increase in this or that economic branch.

On the contrary at present in our country, we are in the course of progressing qualitatively by leaps and bounds from an economy relying on manual labour to an economy relying on mechanization; we are in a process of building a large-scale mechanized production, creating a completely new material and technical basis which is superior in quality. Each new step forward of our heavy industry is a partial qualitative

change. Therefore, the contradiction lying in the imbalance which takes place in the process of building a new material and technical basis is very sharp, this is an imbalance created by a partial advance in quality by leaps and bounds, the overcoming of this imbalance requires other partial leaps in quality. In a word, *in a relatively short period of time, we must set up a relatively comprehensive system of heavy industry and bring about at all costs a general balance in our economy as a whole on a material and technical basis entirely new in quality. To this end we must rapidly accumulate great funds. The acuteness of the problem which has been set to us lies first and foremost in this point.*

Furthermore, this acuteness lies in another aspect. Engels said that without the primitive slave regime there cannot be the present modern society*. This also means that exploitation is a shame, a savageness, but with regard to the progress of the society of former times, it is a historical necessity. We all know that in capitalist countries, the period of industrialization is a period when the capitalists exploited the toiling people most pitilessly. The bourgeoisie has carried out primitive accumulation by means of blatantly using violence to plunder the small producers, tearing them away from their land and means of production in order to turn them into paid toilers, at the same time they use violence to exploit the colonies unrestrictedly and even to kill millions of people**. The process of

* Anti-Duhring.

** They sentenced to death those peasants and craftsmen who had to wander jobless due to their plunder, and shot dead the red and black natives.

accumulation and concentration of capital is in the end the process of bleeding white the working class and colonial people and continuing to ruin and impoverish the small producers. Therefore Marx said that the history of capitalist accumulation is a history written in blood and fire; capitalism is born with blood and mud in all its pores. In our country, we neither follow the capitalist road which is a road of sufferings and death for the toiling people, nor apply the methods of capitalist accumulation.

In the process of changing North Vietnam's economy into a socialist one, *we must carry out socialist distribution.* We must not simply think that the principle of socialist distribution is only a principle of distribution according to labour: a producer receives his share in proportion to the labour he has contributed, and enjoys nothing if he remains idle. The principle of socialist distribution has another aspect: the socialist state has the responsibility to guarantee work for everybody, to give him sufficient food and clothing, to provide him with public amenities, to send to school all children not yet reaching the working age, to care for the old and weak people; we must also take into consideration the fact that annually our population increases by 650,000, which is perhaps the highest rate in the world. *The pressing nature of the problem put ahead of us also lies in this point.*

We must accumulate funds to ensure the development of economy, at the same time carry out socialist distribution in conditions of a very poor and backward

economy and a very young and weak material and technical foundation consisting of only 5 per cent of mechanized labour and as much as 95 per cent of manual labour. With such a big proportion of manual labour, the labour productivity of the society as a whole is very low, hence our possibilities of accumulating funds are not great and our possibilities of satisfying the requirements of our people in their livelihood are limited.

In these conditions, we have only two roads: either to use all the national income to satisfy immediately our needs, or endeavour to endure temporary hardships and privations, spare part of the surplus wealth to build our national economy more rapidly in order to go through the first stage of socialist building which is a most difficult and hard stage for us. The first road is smooth in its first leg but obstructed soon, because if we cannot unceasingly develop and enlarge production and help our economy do away with its backwardness, how can we satisfy our ever greater requirements in the near future? To reach the durable goal of our struggle, get rid once for all of the weakness of our economy, and build a rich and powerful Vietnam endowed with modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science and having all conditions to meet ever more satisfactorily our people's increasing requirements, we must necessarily take the second road which is at present very difficult but very glorious, by means of establishing a correct relation between accumulation and consumption according to the economic and political situation of each period.

Both consumption and accumulation are aimed at a common goal and are unified. Consumption is the satisfaction of the immediate requirements of livelihood; accumulation for the purpose of enlarging reproduction is aimed at meeting the ever increasing requirements of livelihood, and building a life of lasting abundance and happiness for our people. If we do not satisfactorily solve the problem of relations between consumption and accumulation, there will be "leftist" or rightist, and even revisionist, deviations. A right or wrong solution of this problem is the expression of a revolutionary or non-revolutionary standpoint. It is incorrect and of "leftist" deviation if we do not realize the difficulties in the people's livelihood, if we think only of accumulation and do not endeavour to improve gradually the people's livelihood in the process of socialist industrialization. But in conditions of a still weak economy, when socialist industrialization is a pressing need if there is not a keen determination to concentrate capital, if in solving the consumption problem we do not take into consideration our practical possibilities, realize the difference between our various requirements and have different policies to meet them, and if we want to satisfy all needs at a time instead of restricting ourselves by meeting first the most pressing needs, not only are we unable to satisfy all needs at present, but we cannot also guarantee the necessary conditions for the building of the material and technical basis of socialism, and as a result, we will create more rightist tendency, which is the most serious deviation to be avoided at present.

The establishment of the correct relations between accumulation and consumption in the practical conditions of our present economy is in itself a very fierce revolutionary struggle, which requires from our entire Party and people a very high revolutionary spirit of sacrifice and an unshakable determination to fight courageously.

The foregoing proves that in the North of our country the revolutionary struggle is not yet in its final stage, on the contrary it is embarking on a difficult and pressing stage. Meanwhile in the south of our Fatherland, the U.S. imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique are expanding a special war to repress the South Vietnam people's aspirations for peace, national reunification, independence and democracy. In essence, this is a most murderous aggressive war carried out on an ever larger scale. Our compatriots in South Vietnam must take up arms to defend themselves and wage a do-or-die struggle not minding sacrifices and hardships. Millions of South Vietnam people are marching to the front and together with their armed forces they oppose their indomitable spirit and iron will to the modern weapons of the enemy. Throughout these last nine years, *the struggle waged by our South Vietnam compatriots has been very fierce and arduous*

The White House warmongers have resorted to the most wicked schemes and most savage manoeuvres, but they begin to realize that they cannot defeat fourteen million heroic people in South Vietnam. This testifies to the fact that the patriotic movement in South Vietnam has won great successes and will certainly defeat the U. S. imperialists and their

hirelings to liberate half of our beloved country. The struggle for national salvation and self-liberation of our South Vietnam compatriots also contribute to safeguard our peaceful labour in the North. However, the invaders and traitors continue to attack the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam, at the same time leave no stone unturned to wreck security and the peaceful construction in the North. So long as the U. S. imperialists invade our country, they will never give up their dark counter-revolutionary scheme against socialist North Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists are the very instigators in the sabotage of peace and neutrality of Laos, and are creating a dangerous situation in this neighbour country. All the above-mentioned situation obliges us constantly to heighten our vigilance, consolidate our national defence and reinforce the protection of our land. This creates more difficulties for our socialist construction. It also reminds us that one half of our country lives in peace and the other in war, thus the whole country is in a very acute revolutionary situation. We must make the entire Party and people clearly and correctly realize this situation. All our combativeness and revolutionary feelings must spring from the understanding of the general situation of the whole country and of the most heavy and glorious historical task which the people of both zones must carry out.

The people in the North are enthusiastic and proud to be the pioneers in the building of socialism in the liberated half of their country. However, we understand that to attain the highest peak of society which is communism by bypassing a historical stage, we

must make great sacrifices and struggle hard with a grim determination and a firm confidence in order gradually to do away with poverty and backwardness. The capitalists enrich their class by their exploitation and repression of the toiling people. As for us, our endurance of some temporary privations springs from the lofty ideal of bringing about a lasting happy life for the entire people, and from the understanding of our revolution. Therefore we are bold enough to look directly at difficulties, and devote all our moral and physical force to cope with them. In the near future, these difficulties might be greater but no matter what critical situation, we are determined to overcome it.

The revolutionary road is never a smooth and easy one. We all know how the people of the Soviet Union, after the October Revolution, had endured hardships to build socialism in the encirclement of foreign capitalists and imperialists. China suffered from natural calamities for three years on end, but the Chinese people put up extremely heroic sacrifices, tided over the most difficult period, and are now making steady steps forward. After waging heroic struggles, the Korean people advanced by leaps and bounds, scored great achievements in the building of a modern industry and a modern agriculture and are advancing now in the spirit of the flying horse and of thriftiness to continue building their industry by using only home-made goods and sparing valuable goods for export. This is a glaring example of the spirit of industriousness and thriftiness for national construction which we have to learn from.

The aforesaid pressing difficulties are the objective necessity of the period of transition to socialism. But subjectively, our leaders from the centre to various branches and levels have committed a number of shortcomings in their direction of economic build-up and cultural development over the past years. The shortcomings in the application of the lines and policies, and in the organization for their implementation, are due to the fact that the practical situation is not grasped thoroughly, the level of economic and financial management and the technical level are low; these shortcomings have curbed our successes and sometimes created an avoidable complex situation.

To point out the difficulties and the pressing character of socialist construction does not mean to ask our people to abstain from all necessities in their daily life. On the contrary we can and must step by step improve our people's livelihood. We must be determined to find every means to satisfy our immediate requirements at the rate put forth by the Eighth Session of the Party Central Committee. We must improve the distribution work, expand public amenities, strictly apply the regimes of wages and labour, social insurance; unburden the women's household work, afford assistance to the large families and to those people overladen with work or deprived of labour force. To be anxious about the livelihood of the masses, about their food, housing, pastime, education and health protection, must be a constant concern of various branches and levels. In the solution of the problems relating to

the people's livelihood, our economic and financial possibilities are limited, but the important problem is that the responsible organs have not yet devoted all their efforts, and brought into full play the existing possibilities to take better care of the living and working conditions of the toilers in town and country. No one can understand why in a number of factories and co-operatives the funds for social utilities are not used up to improve the living and working conditions of the workers and peasants; why some state farms and construction sites which have land for cultivation and animal breeding, have to buy vegetables, eggs and milk from other places? The Party branch committees and trade unions at these places seem not to realize their responsibility with regard to such problems vital to the livelihood of the workers and the production of the enterprises.

It is not correct if in building socialism, we do not pay attention to material incentives to impel the toilers to produce actively, but if we do not educate them in ideology, and raise their socialist consciousness, we are unable to start a revolutionary movement. Both aspects are factors to speed up production; and neither can be belittled. However, for us communists, we cannot take material advantages and enjoyment as a revolutionary driving force to replace our ideology. The members of the Party and of the Labour Youth Union must now more than any other time be imbued with the lofty ideal of a communist which is to struggle for the building of an abundant and happy life for the entire people, for the building of

a prosperous and powerful Vietnam; they must all the more heighten their role of combative vanguards and their revolutionary dignity and ethics, be determined not to let individualistic calculations create obstacles in their thinking, blunt their revolutionary feelings and weaken their combativeness.

ACTIVELY TO RAISE LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY,
BROADEN THE DIVISION OF LABOUR IN THE
COUNTRYSIDE IN ORDER TO SPEED UP AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND SERVE IT AS A
BASIS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY

Realities and our own experiences in the past years have helped us realize all the more profoundly the basic role of agriculture with regard to the development of industry.

From 1958 to 1962, together with the rhythm of general development of our economy, the value of gross agricultural output annually increased by 5.3 per cent on the average, including an increase of 4.5 per cent in foodstuffs. This is a normal rate of development. However our agriculture, though having been brought under co-operativization, is still backward and bears a marked character of self-sufficiency and self-procurement due to its still too weak material and technical basis.

To take agriculture as a basis for the development of industry is a correct line. To advance to socialism from an agricultural country we have no other way than to rely on our own agriculture to develop industry. To create favourable conditions for the

development of industry, agriculture must not only rapidly increase the volume of agricultural products for consumption in the countryside but it must be in a position to produce a great quantity of agricultural goods: food for non-agrarian people, raw materials for industry and agricultural products for export. The greater the quantity of agricultural goods to exchange with industry, the greater the value of agricultural labour, and the greater the purchasing power of country people, thus agriculture will have conditions to consume the means of production and consumer goods turned out by industry.

To speak of agriculture is to speak of land and labour force in agriculture. Labour force produces value, but in agriculture it must be combined with the means of production among which land is the most important before it can create material wealth. However, in Vietnam farmland is too limited, only three North Vietnam "sao" or one-tenth of an hectare per capita: there is no country which carries out socialist industrialization with a per capita landholding as small as our country. Over these past years, we have endeavoured to enlarge the area under cultivation by means of multiplying seasonal crops and reclaiming waste land, however the per capita acreage of cropland does not increase notably whereas the per capita acreage of tilled land shrinks dangerously. With a per capita landholding of three "sao" we must produce food for man and at the same time grow industrial crops and food for animal husbandry, therefore difficulties are great. If on the one hand we do not struggle by all means, by multiplying seasonal

crops, reclaiming waste land, carrying out intercalated crops, radically saving land so that each peasant can till seven or eight "sao", and on the other hand if we do not endeavour to practise intensive cultivation to increase productivity, we cannot enlarge agricultural production rapidly, and use labour power in the countryside in a rational way.

The Resolution of the Eighth Session of the Party Central Committee has emphasized that we must grasp more thoroughly the guiding principle of developing agriculture all-sidedly, vigorously and steadily, concentrate our efforts to bring about a better change in agricultural production, especially food production and that we must attach the greatest importance to intensive cultivation, multiplication of seasonal crops, and increase of productivity, at the same time actively reclaim waste land and develop various branches and trades, speed up the initial delimitation of agricultural zones which will be served as a background to formulate a correct trend of production for each locality and effectively carry out the technical measures. Here I think that I have to deal a little further on the problem of raising the productivity of social labour in agriculture.

Labour productivity is a yardstick to measure the level of development of the productive forces of the society. At present, our labour productivity in general and our labour productivity in agriculture in particular is still very low. Annually the labour of a peasant yields 400 dong on the average, that is to say the labour productivity of a peasant is worth only one-tenth of the labour productivity of a

worker *. Due to this lowness, in our country what one peasant produces can feed only more than one person while in the Soviet Union one peasant can feed 6 persons. In this way the food produced by a Vietnamese peasant is only sufficient for himself and the agricultural goods are still too scarce. This greatly influences the development of industry because realities have clearly shown that the rate of development of our industry in its initial stage is for the greater part determined by the volume of agricultural goods. In the problem of raising labour productivity in agriculture and industry there are differing points which must be clearly understood. In industry, there is no limit for social labour productivity; labour productivity can increase unceasingly by technical improvement, mechanization, automation, application of chemistry, electrification, etc., enlargement of the old enterprises, building of new enterprises, and enlargement of production, etc. In agriculture, the increase in labour productivity is by technical methods applied to irrigation, use of fertilizers, improvement of implements, selection of seeds, prevention against insects, etc., but the productivity of social labour remained limited by the yield of crops, climatic conditions and the per capital land holding which is a most important restriction. Therefore, to increase the productivity of social labour in agriculture, we thus endeavour to improve farm implements, apply various new technical methods to increase the yield

* According to the data of the General Department of Statistics. Of course this calculation is not yet very rational.

of crops and the output on each unit of tilled land, etc., but the most important problem at present is to increase the share of land of each person engaged in agriculture, to reduce labour expenditure for each unit of tilled land and to use redundant labour for the creation of new values. Therefore, the great problem facing us is to carry out a very far-reaching revolution in the countryside and readjust the division of labour in agriculture.

At present the delta countryside engages the bulk of social labour which though sometimes running short especially when the field works are pressing, is not yet used rationally, the average number of work-days of a peasant in a year being still small (130 work-days). We have very favourable natural conditions and a redundant labour. If parallel with intensive cultivation for the increase of productivity in each unit of tilled land we have correct orientations for production, organization and utilization of labour, investment of capital and semi-mechanized and mechanized technical equipment in a number of links in the chain of agricultural labour, we will be able more rationally to use labour and exploit a greater quantity of natural resources, especially we will be able to develop the huge possibilities of tropical agriculture and the potentialities of our rich mountain and costal areas. This is the way to increase the number of work-days and the income according to work-days, that is to say a means to raise the productivity of social labour by leaps and bounds. The agitation "to improve the management of co-operatives and technique aimed at developing agriculture

all-sidedly, vigorously and steadily" and the "encouragement of the delta people to go and build economy in mountain areas and midlands" have a great revolutionary significance in the initial steps of a new division of labour.

..

The north of our country advances to socialism bypassing the stage of capitalist development, that is to say without experiencing a division of labour on the basis of a large-scale industrialized production but in conditions of a small production mainly for self-supply and self-procurement; at the same time it is advancing step by step to realize a new division of labour on the basis of a large-scale socialist production which is now being set up and a requisite condition to have a high labour productivity.

What is to be done to carry out a most rational division of labour in our economy?

Our Party advocates socialist industrialization to change a social production mainly relying on manual labour at present into a large-scale mechanized production. The further technical revolution advances, the more developed the division of social labour. On the basis of gradually replacing manual labour by mechanized labour, a new division of labour will take shape in the direction that the proportion of labourers in agriculture will decrease with every passing day, and the proportion of labourers in industry increase gradually.

Under the capitalist regime, the division of labour on the basis of a large-scale mechanized production

is carried out spontaneously due to the impact of various economic laws of capitalism which, through competition and the transfer of capital from one branch to another, cause no small destruction and ruin. Under the socialist regime, the state controls all state-run enterprises and co-operatives to direct this division according to a plan. However, this does not mean that we have already the ability of making full use of the economic laws to govern all the many-sided relations of the society in the best and befitting way. Our subjective ability cannot grasp all the inner relations and control all aspects of an economy which is changing. Therefore, under the centralized and unified direction of the state, we must think out means to develop the positiveness and creativeness of all productive organizations, and of all members of the society so that they may participate in the carrying out of the new division of labour, provided that this division speeds up the development of production and does not go counter to the economic laws of socialism.

To carry out a new division of labour, we must closely combine the organization of production, of management with technical revolution, develop the collective wisdom and abilities of the entire Party and people and of various branches and levels. In this problem, we must avoid such tendencies as arbitrariness and stiffness which sometimes go counter to the objective laws of society and hamstrings the division of labour. We can cite many examples in this regard; in the countryside when manpower is redundant and the society wants to develop a number

of branches and trades, the managerial boards of co-operatives, instead of finding jobs for the co-op members, restrict a number of branches and trades which have existed since long. At the same time we must get rid of the tendency to bureaucratic centralism which restricts the creative initiative and business-like character of the lower levels.

Each level, especially the provincial one, is the general manager of the economy of its own locality; therefore it must grasp the economic situation, resources and the needs of economic development of its own locality and on this basis it will make provisions for what is to be done, begin to carry out the delimitation of production zones, take initiative in developing various branches and trades in order gradually to complete a rational division of labour between various zones, branches and trades. The provincial level must develop its creative initiative in the development of economy, provided it guarantees the implementation of the correct orientation and lines of the Party Central Committee, and the main targets set forth by the state.

In the new division of labour in the countryside, we must fully realize the important role of trade which is responsible for not only supply and consumption, but has the important task of utilizing purchase and sale and exchange of goods between producers and consumers, between various zones to speed up the development of production, promote the broadening of division of labour in order to make various branches and trades develop unceasingly, and social production become richer and richer.

How to bypass capitalism and advance to socialism is a new and quite intricate road which poses a series of theoretical problems. We must grasp realities more firmly, think more deeply before we can formulate correct theories and direct our whole work.

VIGOROUSLY TO PROMOTE
THE SPIRIT OF SELF-RELIANCE
AND SATISFACTORILY TO UTILIZE
THE ASSISTANCE OF THE BROTHER COUNTRIES
IN ORDER SUCCESSFULLY TO BUILD SOCIALISM

Our Party's policy of giving priority to the development of heavy industry originates from the objective requirement which is to build a sovereign economy. Ours is a fairly populated country (from 30 to 40 million in the future when the country is reunified), we must necessarily have a relatively comprehensive heavy industry including the basic branches — electricity and fuel, metallurgy, engineering, chemicals, building materials — to serve as a foundation for the national economy. If we do not build a sovereign economy with heavy industry as foundation, what significance and contents will have then the problem of socialist industrialization and priority development of heavy industry?

How shall we understand correctly the relations between the building of a sovereign economy and the international division of labour and co-operation within the socialist camp? We carry out socialist industrialization in conditions of a powerful socialist

camp. The assistance of the socialist camp and the co-operation between us and our brother countries give us the possibility and opportunity to bypass the stage of capitalist development and advance straight to socialism. We can rely on the assistance of the socialist camp to develop light industry to some extent but can we entirely rely on the heavy industry of the brother countries to equip our national economy with new technique without building for ourselves a relatively comprehensive heavy industry? Some people think that it is not economical to build a relatively comprehensive industry with engineering as a key branch, that the machines and consumer goods we produce are of poor quality and expensive and that it is better to spare our efforts to develop a certain number of branches or to expand our tropical agriculture, then through international co-operation we will exchange for machines and consumer goods produced by our brother countries which are good and cheap. This conception is basically wrong because it reflects a merely mercantile viewpoint.

Our country, a member of the socialist camp, is an economic entity. The problem set for us is to rely on our natural riches to carry out a rational division of labour between various branches and trades and between various zones in order most advantageously to exploit the resources which exist in our country for the satisfaction of the requirements of our people's ever increasing livelihood. Such a division of labour can be carried out only if we have a developed heavy industry capable of equipping the various branches of the national economy in new technique. In this

way, though at first the goods and machines produced are poor in quality and somewhat expensive, yet we can carry out a rational division of labour, bring about a thorough change in our economy, impel production to develop by leaps and bounds, enrich the wealth of the whole society and unceasingly increase the productivity of social labour. This road brings in the greatest, firmest and most durable advantages to our people. Only when we have carried out a most rational division of labour in our economy, and exploit the natural riches of our country with the greatest economic efficiency can we have a basis to bring about and broaden the best and most rational division of labour and co-operation with our brother socialist countries. This is the content of the building of an independent and sovereign economy, which is not contradictory to the international division of labour and co-operation.

We must apply the universal laws of the countries which have waged the socialist revolution to the building of socialism in our country, but as has been said above, socialism in Vietnam must moreover develop according to the laws specific to the Vietnamese society. We cannot wipe out the independent character of each economic unit at will while carrying on international co-operation, and naturally we cannot transform our country into a rural area of the socialist camp.

The policy of building an independent and sovereign economy is aimed at developing and bringing into full play the existing and latent possibilities of our country, and at mainly relying on our own possibilities

to build socialism. Over the past years, we have received the assistance of our brother countries without return. Now this assistance is given mainly in the form of international co-operation according to the principle of mutual advantages, reciprocity and returning what is borrowed.

Some comrades superficially wonder why we do not ask for aid from our brother countries to overcome the difficulties we meet at present in our livelihood. We highly value the assistance of our brother countries and at present as in the future, we still continue to receive their assistance. But however great that assistance may be, it cannot replace our people's own efforts. To remain dependent on our brother countries is diametrically contrary to the principle of proletarian internationalism. Each communist party must bear responsibility before the nation and before the proletarian class and people of the whole world. Only by fulfilling our tasks toward our nation can we satisfactorily carry out our international tasks. The capitalists and imperialists also carry out "international co-operation", but to exploit the working class and people in their countries and in the world. Co-operation of that kind means in truth to trample national interests under foot. Only the communists and communist parties have a genuine national and international spirit.

We highlight the spirit of self-reliance not only in the material aspect but also in lines and policies. The experiences drawn over the past seven years from the economic and cultural build-up have taught us that we must mainly rely on ourselves, and we

do have the requisite conditions to do so. This does not mean that we belittle the experiences of our brother countries, especially the Soviet Union and China. To learn from the revolutionary experiences of the world and of the brother countries is our duty. The brother countries are ready to help us technically and materially as well as in experiences, but we must learn from them with discernment, and know how to apply these experiences creatively in order to set forth correct lines and policies fitting the situation and particularities of our country.

Formerly thanks to our spirit of self-reliance we could carry out the August Revolution with success and lead the Resistance war to victory. Now we must vigorously promote this spirit and correctly utilize the assistance of the brother countries to take North Vietnam to socialism.

TO COMBINE IDEOLOGICAL REVOLUTION
WITH TECHNICAL REVOLUTION, DEVELOP
OUR GREAT ADVANTAGES TO WIN VICTORY
FOR THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

We all know that the whole socialist revolution in the north of our country includes three closely interdependent revolutions: the revolution in production relations, the technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution.

We have succeeded in building a new, socialist production relation, but the technical revolution is only in its initial stage. Technical revolution is a hard and

protracted struggle to carry out socialist industrialization. In essence the revolutionary struggle to carry out socialist industrialization is a struggle to harness the natural forces overcome the difficulties they create to production and our everyday life, a struggle to acquaint ourselves with the laws of our society, especially economic laws, and apply them to practical conditions; at the same time, it is a struggle against the viewpoints, ideologies, actions and powers in the society and in each individual, which impede both aspects of the above-mentioned struggle; it is a struggle to remove the ideology of the exploiting class and its influence on the style of social life and the production routine. Besides, we must be constantly vigilant with regard to the schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. This is also the continuation of the class struggle radically to solve the problem "Who will win", eliminate all possibilities of capitalist revival, and make socialism win complete victory in the North of our country. This is the function of proletarian dictatorship because, as Lenin said, proletarian dictatorship — the essence of the state in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism — is not the suppression of the class struggle but its continuation in new forms and with new tactics. That is why, we must speed up the ideological and cultural revolution, taking it ahead efficiently to serve technical revolution.

The struggle to win complete victory for socialism requires that we must carry on ideological work thoroughly, radically, diligently and perseveringly in order to give the entire Party and people a consistent

and resolute revolutionary standpoint, foster the proletarian viewpoint and further reinforce the combativeness of the Party and revolutionary organizations of the masses.

The main orientation of the ideological work in the immediate period is to help the entire Party and people thoroughly to grasp the lines and guiding principles of socialist industrialization, clearly to realize the difficulties and advantages and the requirements of the revolution, and clearly to foresee the glorious prospect of socialism. The propaganda work must aim at fostering the Party members and people in the sense of being collective masters, of self-reliance, industriousness and thriftiness to build the Fatherland; it must aim at unceasingly heightening our determination to struggle, possessing revolutionary sentiments, encouraging the entire Party and people strongly to push forward the movement for patriotic emulation, create an unprecedented seething revolutionary movement.

To launch a revolutionary movement, we must bring about a profound revolutionary change from within the Party to the entire people. In the past, the ideological work was not carried out satisfactorily, the ideological front was loose at times, mainly because we did not yet satisfactorily consolidate the inner life of the Party branches and the Youth Union branches. The executive committees of various levels must grasp the Party branches and the Youth Union branches. They must consolidate these branches in enterprises, countryside, offices and army units and turn each of them really into a firm and highly

combative shock unit to take the movement ahead. They must make each of them a real political school, a place to train ideologically the Party members and Youth Union members, unceasingly consolidate and heighten proletarian ideology, fight rightist opportunism and revisionism and all other manifestations of bourgeois ideology, overcome petty-bourgeois ideology, do away with non-proletarian ideology, reinforce the sense of organization and discipline, and develop genuine revolutionary spirit. Only by so doing can the Party members and Youth Union members become real fighters of the heroic combative army which will win the battle in whatever difficult and critical situation.

At the beginning of the technical revolution, our handicap is that our scientific knowledge is still low and the rank of our scientific and technical cadres is not yet reinforced. Therefore, an immediate task of the cadres and Party members is to endeavour to study science and technology and modestly learn from the technical cadres. On the other hand, we must speed up the popularization of science, step by step raise the scientific knowledge of the masses, turn science and technology into the property of the toiling people, encourage them to embark victoriously on technical revolution, at the same time intensify the training of a new rank of scientific and technical cadres loyal to the revolutionary cause of the class and the nation. We must judiciously utilize the existing scientific and technical cadres so that they may devote all their hearts and souls to serving our great revolutionary cause. Science and technology is

a precious capital of mankind; our Party regards it as an important driving force to speed up the socialist revolution, hence it highly values scientific and technical cadres. We have to set forth a policy of fostering, placing and treating them adequately, at the same time we must wholeheartedly help and guide them to turn them into revolutionaries devoting heart and soul to the cause of the people, the class and the nation.

At present we must overcome many difficulties but at the same time we enjoy many great advantages.

First of all it is *our people's political single-mindedness and love of labour*. The national democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat and of our Party has created a firm political single-mindedness among various strata of the toiling people. Today, after the completion of socialist transformation in the main, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man and the setting up of the socialist production relations, the political single-mindedness among our people has been developed and consolidated one step further. The lines and policies of our Party being basically correct have won the unanimous approbation of the absolute majority of people. Our people have the traditions of revolutionary heroism, endurance of hardships and self-reliance. We have the possibilities of satisfactorily carrying out the ideological work to reinforce our single-mindedness in politics, ideology and action within the entire Party and entire people, and make everyone actively and enthusiastically participate in

the new revolution to get rid of poverty and backwardness. The south of our country is in a situation of blood and fire. The deeper our people's hatred for the U.S. - Diem clique, the closer their ranks around the vanguard Party and President Ho Chi Minh, in order resolutely to build a peaceful, unified, independent, prosperous and powerful Vietnam, and lead our nation to a peaceful and bright life.

The toiling people of our country have not yet gone through capitalism, therefore generally speaking they do not bear the deep imprint of bourgeois individualism. Though still influenced by the ideological vestiges of the feudal regime and of a small production, our people love their native land and village very much, love one another and share among themselves their happiness and sorrow. These thinkings and feelings are in line with the principle of socialist and communist ethics, "All for one and one for all". If we endeavour to foster these fine feelings, improve them and consolidate them on the basis of the outlook of the proletariat, we will be able to develop the valuable traditions of our nation and bring about a deep revolutionary change among our people. With these advantages, after the realization of three or four five-year plans, when our productive force is relatively developed, we will be able to think of the possibilities of carrying out a better division of labour in order rapidly to embark on the road of communism.

At present, we have already the foundation of a sovereign economy, this is a most favourable condition to carry out a rational division of labour in our

country. We have already built a number of bases for light industry, we must more satisfactorily utilize their ability and efficiency to produce more consumer goods to meet our people's pressing needs and partly to supply for export. We must made full use of the capacities of the existing heavy industry in order more efficiently to serve agriculture, fishery and forestry. To develop the capacity of our young industry, speed up the development of various branches of the national economy most advantageously, and overcome the weak points in our economy, we must most satisfactorily carry out the movement to "raise the sense of responsibility, reinforce the management of economy and finance, improve technique and fight corruption, waste and bureaucracy". Through the "Three fors and three againsts" movement, we must consolidate the management in all its aspects: management of production, of materials, of technique, of labour and of finance; expand and consolidate the regime of business accounting in various enterprises, intensify the planning work; set forth and strictly abide by various regimes and regulations, correctly carry out the principles of socialist economic management aimed at radically exploiting the potentialities of state-run enterprises and ensuring the fulfilment of the state plans.

Another important advantage is that *we have enjoyed the assistance of the brother countries in the socialist camp*. In satisfactorily learning from and Profiting by the assistance of our brother countries we avoid mistakes and groping, at the same time

thanks to this wholehearted assistance, we can foster and train more scientific and technical cadres.

During the First Five-Year Plan like throughout the process of socialist building in the North, we must speed up the ideological work, raise our abilities in organization and management of economy and finance, in order to bring into full play and develop our very basic advantageous conditions and advance firmly.

*
* *

Looking back to the section of the road we have travelled, we are very enthusiastic to see that we have taken a correct road and made a firm step in the struggle against poverty and backwardness. To develop the great successes we have scored, and the very basic advantages of our regime and of the new economy, we are resolute to devote heart and soul to overcome difficulties in order to fulfil the First Five-Year Plan. Our people are waging the greatest revolution in the history of our country. Our success will be very glorious and splendid because today we are putting up an extremely arduous and hard struggle. To fulfil the mission of a generation heralding the building of socialism, let the people of the north of our country be closely united and heroically struggle to advance firmly!

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LE DUAN



ON THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN VIET NAM

VOLUME III

FOREIGN
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HANOI — 1967

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IN VIET NAM*

LE DUAN

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On the socialist revolution in Viet Nam comprises a number of writings and speeches by comrade LE DUAN, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, between 1957 and 1962.

We publish them in three volumes:

Vol. 1: THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION
IN VIET NAM (General questions).

Vol. 2: INDUSTRIALIZATION
AND AGRICULTURAL
CO-OPERATIVIZATION.

Vol. 3: IDEOLOGICAL WORK,
WORK AMONG WOMEN
AND YOUTH, EDUCATION
AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

CONTENTS

For a radical change in ideological work	7
We must foster new thoughts to build up socialism	52
We must view the women's question from a class standpoint	111
We must heighten the revolutionary spirit of the youth and Labour Youth Union members.	130
The more we love man, the better we love our pro- fession	150
The tasks of socialist revolution in North Viet Nam and scientific work.	167
The youth are the mainstay of the revolution.	189

FOR A RADICAL CHANGE IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK *

THE MAIN TASK IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK: TO POPULARIZE AND IMPLEMENT THE RESOLUTION OF THE PARTY CONGRESS

Comrades,

Today I shall talk about some questions relating to propaganda and education. As I was asked to do this only yesterday and as I was very busy, I had no time to draw up a plan. I am afraid, therefore, I shall speak by fits and starts.

We usually say that thinking takes the lead in every work. You have undoubtedly realized the important of role ideological work. In our Party's life no branch of activity is so old as propaganda and education, which has been carried out ever since our Party came into being, whereas all the others were created only

* Speech delivered at the meeting of propaganda and education cadres in April 1962.

after the seizure of power. This explains why the propaganda and educational branch is the most experienced of all. Unfortunately, as no adequate review has ever been made, good things are left in oblivion. In 1953, I remember, village cadres who came to Viet Bac* related plenty of exemplary achievements. For instance, when our comrades returned to the villages where all our bases had been disrupted, thanks to their agitation work they succeeded in rousing the people up again to encircle the enemy and drive him out. How ingenious and elaborate it was! Today, with a higher cultural level and ample means, our cadres should have done better. In fact, however, in not few villages it is much worse than before. Why? With political power in our hands, we do command more facilities for agitation and ideological work, but then there also appear negative factors besides positive ones. Then, as it occurs, our revolutionary consciousness and our efforts to mingle with the masses and win them over slacken and give way to commandism and bureaucracy, thus neutralizing the revolutionary effect of our Party's propaganda and educational work. Moreover, though we possess many means, we happen to hold erroneous views on basic problems, stripping propaganda and educational work of its revolutionary content. Propaganda and educational work serves ideological revolution, it is an ideological struggle. I do not thereby deny the fact that, at present, in many places, achievements have been scored as in the

* Liberated zone in the hill regions.

Duyen Hai engineering plant and the Dai Phong agricultural co-operative. On the whole our work there is satisfactory, a proof that ideological work, too, is well done. Generally speaking, our propaganda and educational work has made progress. What I said above is meant to substantiate that it could have achieved better results, and that we ought to have preserved and promoted valuable experiences instead of letting them fall into oblivion, to the great detriment not only of the propaganda and educational cadres but the entire Party and people.

So much for the method and ways of doing propaganda and educational work. As for its ideological content, it changes with the requirements of the revolution in each period.

What do we mean saying: thinking takes the lead in every work? As I understand, this amounts to what Lenin said: "Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement." In other words, when someone undertakes to do something, consciously or not, he must have thought and reasoned over it from his own viewpoint and stand. Facing the same problem, people have differing reasonings and reach differing conclusions, depending on their stand.

The relation between the objective laws of nature and the active role of thinking is a very intricate problem, a vague understanding of which prevents us from grasping many other problems. Marx said that in the final analysis the development of society is determined by economy. Economy reflects the relation between man and man in production, and these

are objective and independent of their will. It follows that in the final analysis, the development of society is determined by objective factors independent of man's will. Marx also said that the history of mankind is made by man. A man differs from an animal in so far as he is capable of thinking, so to speak of man is to speak of a thinking creature. When a spider weaves a cobweb to catch flies, it acts instinctively, whereas a man, who builds a house to live in, does it on purpose according to a certain plan. In other words, he must first of all foresee what he is to do, he must think. Man always acts upon an idea. As is known, thinking is the reflection of existence; however, it has its own independence. Man does not act blindly and passively under the pressure of objective conditions, he enjoys a relative freedom of his own. He cannot create or repudiate any objective law of nature, but within the scope of objective economic laws, he envisages things in the abstract, reflects and decides on his actions to make them serve his aims. In objective conditions and under objective laws, the results of man's actions may widely differ, depending on his capacity to view things in the abstract, and apply objective laws to realize his aims. In given historical conditions, things do not necessarily evolve in one direction, but usually in many differing ones, and this again depends on man's will. Moreover, to attain a certain aim, there is not necessarily one way but usually many; for instance, to reach a central point, one may proceed from the top or the bottom, from the left or the

right. That is the meaning of what we say: thinking takes the lead in every work. As a consequence, thinking must abide by the objective laws of social development, by economic laws; at the same time, it must play a leading role. In this, there is no contradiction but unity. Social development stems from the dialectical unity of objective and subjective factors. That is why, in our ideological work, we, who stand for materialism, dialectical materialism, may fall into idealism if we exaggerate the effectiveness of thinking, regarding it as something omnipotent, isolating it from the objective environment, from its material basis. Inversely, we shall fall into mechanic materialism if we ignore the leading role of thinking, its important role, and consider it an appendage of objective factors. Thinking takes the lead in every work; without Marxist thinking, communism cannot be brought into being.

Above are universal truths, which I quote from Marx and Lenin. Now I shall deal with our concrete problem.

What shall we do and how shall we proceed in our ideological work? I won't speak of the world situation in general, nor of the revolution in South Viet Nam, but chiefly of the revolution in North Viet Nam. The fundamental task of our ideological work is to popularize and implement the resolution of the Third Party Congress, which was unanimously approved. I think that on some points, not all our cadres have a thorough understanding. Moreover, practice still does not suffice to enlighten these points. I shall therefore tackle them elaborately to help you study them carefully.

Ours is the most radical revolution in our history. It is a process embracing several revolutions. We have achieved a revolution of a political nature, and been carrying on two others simultaneously, one for the transformation of relations of production and one for technological development. Our economy was mainly based on manual labour. Now that socialist transformation has been achieved in the main, giving rise to new relations of production, the same situation prevails, hence the necessity of a technological revolution. The technological revolution aims chiefly at developing productive forces, transforming the relation between man and nature, and between man and man as well. For instance, with a primitive plough, a peasant acts upon nature not better than a horse while a ploughing machine is as strong as 15 or even 20 horses. Technological revolution brings about far-reaching changes in all other fields, and that is the significance of socialist industrialization. Together with the technological revolution, we must start a cultural and ideological revolution to make our people's thinking fit with our new relations and mode of production, and simultaneously raise their cultural level, so that they may master new techniques. Thus, we have embarked on three revolutions. To bring them to success we must show the masses what is to be done.

TO RAISE CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IS AN IMPORTANT PROBLEM

First of all, I would like to say something about the relations of production, but not much as we have in the main completed their transformation. At present,

we have new relations of production with two forms of ownership — ownership by the whole people and collective ownership — both being established on a weak material and technical basis, which generates many difficulties. I think it necessary to clear up this point. When we carried out socialist transformation, we did not have a comprehensive view of the problem and did not adequately take into account the specific conditions of our country. In a conversation yesterday with a comrade about learning from the experiences of the socialist countries, the transformation of relations of production in China and the Soviet Union was touched upon. During this period, in China, they had to struggle against a powerful social force. You know that this country had gone through the 1911 revolution, after which the bourgeoisie was in power for some decades and resisted very doggedly their being overthrown. Socialist transformation, therefore, involved pretty bitter class struggle. Failing this, many difficulties would have arisen for the bourgeoisie would have taken advantage of serious crop failures to create turmoil. As transformation was satisfactorily carried out the situation was well under control. In the Soviet Union, a sharp class struggle took place in the process of transformation, owing to the relentless opposition of both the industrial and rural bourgeoisie. If it was right to do so in the Soviet Union and in China, the same cannot be applied in Viet Nam. Why? The matter is so intricate that we must keep very close to our realities to understand it. In our country, the aggregate capital of the four thousand capitalists falling within the scope of transformation was not large enough to

build a modern factory. On the whole, the urban bourgeoisie was very small while in the countryside the rich peasants accounted for less than 0.5 per cent of the population, and held as the main means of production no more land than that of the working peasants.

Those were Viet Nam's specific conditions when we started socialist transformation. What then is the object of socialist transformation in our country? The resolution of the Party Congress clearly points out: Socialist transformation is class struggle to abolish the exploiting classes and at the same time a revolution to shift a small production to a big one. In Viet Nam it did consist of these two aspects, the latter being predominant. Since the urban bourgeoisie and the rich peasants did not make up a sizable and potent force as in other countries, it was not necessary at all to put up a bitter class struggle. On the other hand, as our economy was mainly based on a small and individual production of the peasants and handicraftsmen, our key task in socialist transformation was to turn that production into a big, socialist one. That is one of our realities. In the Soviet Union, the transformation of agriculture implied the confiscation of the rich peasants' land and farm-implements and their handing over to the peasants grouped in co-operatives to which the State gave more machines. Such was not the case in Viet Nam where the peasants once grouped in co-operatives did not receive any more land or farm-implements of any kind. And that is another of our realities. Co-operativization at its first stage is only a pooling of land,

farm-implements and cattle and — when the co-operative embraces a whole hamlet — a reorganization of the labour force, a new division of labour. Transformation thus undertaken already brings about a new productive force which yields better results in combating natural calamities, exploiting nature and raising productivity and income. Nevertheless, if we stop at that, and do not proceed further with a technological revolution, we shall not be in a position to increase productivity and income beyond a certain limit and, as a result, consolidate the new relations of production. Consequently, transformation in agriculture aims at creating a new productive force through the reorganization of the labour force, a new division of labour, and at improving agricultural techniques to successfully fight natural calamities, exploit the potentialities of tropical agriculture, and develop agricultural production. Such is the object of socialist transformation which our ideological work should make clear instead of uselessly dealing with generalities or repeating the object of socialist transformation in the Soviet Union or in China. He who brands a middle peasant who builds a cistern as a would-be capitalist displays an inconsiderate attitude, proves incapable of grasping the object of socialist transformation and only prejudices the peasants' zeal in production and hampers their productivity. This is very dangerous. If, as we undertake transformation, the output decreases instead of rising, no one can understand what transformation really aims at, no matter what we can say. When explaining co-operativization, we must clearly show its advantages and

back them with concrete proofs and instead of speaking peremptorily, we must help the peasants realize that co-operatives are worth joining. Hence, the need of a correct exposition of the object of co-operativization. I do not mean thereby that socialist transformation does not involve class struggle or is just a simple problem. Of course, it is intended to bar the way to spontaneous capitalist development in order to preserve the bulk of working peasants and handicraftsmen from exploitation and impoverishment. But this, too, does not mean to hinder the working peasants from attaining a life of plenty. On the contrary, while checking spontaneous capitalist development, socialist transformation aims at taking the people to abundance and happiness. The main purpose of transformation, consequently, is to bring about a new organization of the peasants' labour force, a new division of labour, which will create new forces and new capabilities to struggle against nature, reclaim waste land, increase the number of crops, obtain a higher yield, and develop production beyond the possibilities of individual farming. On that basis, it has to secure a new life for our people. That is the trend of the overall situation. In some places, however, there still prevail sabotage activities by a number of landlords or former imperialists' valets who have not been re-educated. We must, naturally, heighten our vigilance to deal with them in time.

On the other hand, transformation has to grapple with political and ideological problems. Man's thinking is determined now by economic, now by political factors. Of course, the latter, in the final analysis, originate from the former. But the direct factor is not

always economic, at times it is political or ideological. For some people the refusal to join co-operatives springs from differing reasons — economic, ideological or spiritual. A few religious believers wrongly fear that they would become apostate. Generally speaking, the peasants join co-operatives because they think that these can achieve higher productivity than their individual enterprise. But each of them may have quite a different motive to do so, which we have to know perfectly in order to carry out our ideological work properly. With those religious followers who worry about losing their faith, explanations over economic advantages of co-operativization, however lengthy, would bring us nowhere. Therefore, we have not only to grasp the theory and object of socialist transformation and the specific conditions of our country, but to know as well the particularities of each case, each person, to handle them properly. Another example: some cadres criticize individual peasants as individualists and bad elements. We should not inveigh against them, for as working people, they have the right to earn their living as they like. We should instead show them that they are entitled to enjoy this legitimate right but their labour will be more profitable for them if they work collectively. When setting up an agricultural co-operative we should see to winning over only those who will gain to join it, and temporarily leave aside those very few who will not benefit from their admission. It will be to nobody's interest to admit those handicraftsmen whose productivity cannot be raised by co-operativization or whose activities will bring about no new appreciable productive force. That is why there

²—On the...

still remain individual producers in socialist countries. We set up co-operatives to achieve higher labour productivity and not because individual undertaking is blameworthy. We have to understand that capitalism does not stem from every individual undertaking and in whatever condition. We should not exaggerately and groundlessly fear capitalism. We call upon our peasants to join co-operatives for the sole reason that individual farming is not profitable, that co-operativization enables them to fight natural calamities, increase the number of crops, reclaim waste land, raise their productivity, and run more trades, so many things that individual farming cannot do. However, there are other aspects worth considering. The other day I went to a hamlet where the per capita land holding is only 180 square metres. It then occurred to my mind that given our present poor technical capacities it would be better temporarily to let part of the peasants there till their land individually — co-operativization would create many difficulties — to raise production and resettle an appreciable number of them in other places. To live on those 180 square metres a peasant must strain every nerve day and night. Once in a co-operative, he will work during definite hours, and those 180 square metres cannot feed him. Therefore, we must act cautiously where land is too scarce. The relations of collective production must be based on a big productive force. Mechanized production naturally requires collective work. So long as production depends on manual labour, there is ground for individual undertaking. If we do not carry out industrialization to provide machines to the existing co-operatives, co-op members may

waver when difficulties crop up. Hence, the transformation of our agriculture urgently calls for a technological revolution. Ideology, though, plays an important role, especially when mechanized production is still deficient, to stabilize the situation in case of difficulties. If our ideological work makes the peasants understand that collective work contributes to raise labour productivity, that they should unite their efforts with the workers' to build socialism and push ahead socialist industrialization — which will within a few years bring about a new technique, higher labour productivity and a better living standard — then they will be prepared to face difficulties ahead and will realize the need for a more patient collective work. Thus, they will be more immune from vacillation. Such are a few points about transformation of relations of production.

Now I shall say something on *class relations* in our country. While waging a revolution to transform the relations of production in North Viet Nam we should take South Viet Nam into consideration. During the transformation period, we have to bear in mind that our people as a nation are implementing two revolutionary tasks. In the North, the socialist revolution aims at eliminating the bourgeoisie as a class and turning capitalist ownership into ownership by the whole people. However, the bourgeoisie here is weak and has fought imperialism on our side. Meanwhile, the Southern bourgeoisie adheres to the National Front for Liberation which is rallying the people in the struggle against imperialism. The bourgeoisie in the North and its counterpart in the South being the same class of one and the same country, they have influence

on each other and any measure against the bourgeoisie in the North affects its counterpart in the South. Therefore, in the transformation of the bourgeoisie in the North, we must reckon with our Southern compatriots' revolutionary struggle and act in such a way as will best rally the bourgeoisie within the National Front for Liberation against the American imperialists in South Viet Nam. Hence, we have used moderate measures: repurchasing of the property owned by the bourgeoisie, and uniting with it in view of common progress. After transformation in the North there will exist no more capitalists enriching themselves by exploitation, the former capitalists will become, to their honour, patriotic citizens in an independent country, co-operating with the working people to build it into a prosperous and civilized one. Now, as regards the means of production, socialist transformation has been completed in the main, but ideologically it has to be carried on. Bourgeois ideology is to be found not only among the bourgeoisie itself, but also among individual producers (for individual production tends to develop into capitalist production) among them are petty bourgeois elements and intellectuals. In capitalist societies, the intellectuals' interests are affiliated to the capitalists' because the intelligentsia there holds outstanding positions. In Viet Nam in general, and in the North in particular, the bourgeoisie is weak, but bourgeois ideology among intellectuals is not so weak. Some of them constantly contended for State leadership but had to reconcile to their weakness in face of the entire people who have accepted the Party's leadership for some decades. Representative of these bourgeois

intellectuals was the *Nhan van** group. Bourgeois ideology will survive for long and will manifest itself at any favourable opportunity.

At present, in the South, the comprador bourgeoisie is conniving with the American imperialists to cling to power and entertains the ambition to rule over the whole country. In given circumstances this may give rise to agitation among the bourgeoisie in the North. We must be vigilant. A most complex problem, ideological remoulding, entails intricate class struggle, hence the importance of raising our class consciousness.

Besides struggles, the class relations problem involves another aspect of consequence—alliance. We have to enter into alliance with other classes to build socialism. In the countryside the key problem in class relations lies in the strengthening of solidarity between middle and poor peasants. In the main, unity of mind prevails between poor and middle peasants, yet on some particular points differences still exist. This is due to the fact that our co-operatives are for the moment at the lower level and part of the middle-peasants remain outside. Unity of mind must definitely be reached. Only so can we boost the peasants' ardour in production. Though we have to combat spontaneous capitalist development among a number of middle peasants, too much stress will restraint their eagerness and productivity. Our State farms being small, most agricultural produce is supplied by the co-operatives

* A reactionary group in the literary circles of North Viet Nam in 1956.

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and a middle-peasant-type economy, very important for socialist industrialization. Because the poor peasants' economy does not yield enough food for their own consumption, let alone market agricultural produce. Failing this, there cannot be industrialization. For this reason our Party has set forth the task of bringing the living standard of the peasantry as a whole to the present level of the upper middle peasants towards the end of the First Five-Year Plan. The middle peasants' productivity has an influence of its own, and any action likely to lower it is harmful. As a matter of fact, the attitude of some comrades in some places is such that middle peasants fear to become "well-off" and work just enough to live on, instead of pushing their production ahead. Moreover, a wrong interpretation of our class line — poor peasants allegedly enjoy more political rights than middle peasants — makes the latter afraid of being deprived of political rights, and the former of becoming middle peasants. We must combat spontaneous capitalist development but what is capitalist must be clearly stated and speaking inconsiderately must not be allowed, so as to avoid a fall in productivity. Within the new relations of production, owing to the weak material and technical basis, side by side with the positive aspect which constitutes the keynote, the negative aspect remains; as many positive features have no time enough to develop, the influence of negative ones makes itself felt. This cannot be overlooked, and production and productivity closely watched, otherwise production will decrease.

The co-operation between the workers and the peasants is an expression of the solidarity between two fraternal classes. They form the the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the main force building our socialist economy. But, as the mode of production and the labour productivity of these two classes somewhat differ, each of them still keeps its own peculiarities. For instance, apart from the land tilled collectively in the co-operative, the peasants retain small plots for individual exploitation, and run side-lines. For the time being, both of these occupations account for about 40 per cent of their income, and — a noteworthy fact — they supply a large amount of marketable farming products because the bulk of the co-operative economy is destined for co-op members' consumption and the remainder sold to the State. A small part of the agricultural products needed by the workers is procured by State trading stores and the rest at the free market. If the peasants offer them at a high price the workers will protest, in case they have to sell too cheap they themselves will not agree. Disunity then may arise. Therefore, we must have a correct policy to bring into being the worker-peasant alliance. This policy must be reflected in our price policy which, in turn, gives a concrete expression to the toilers' labour. This problem is awaiting a solution. At present, in order to materialize the worker-peasant alliance, we have, first and foremost, to push ahead industrial and agricultural production, build socialism and make industry efficiently serve agricultural development and vice-versa.

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Such is one of the most intricate problems facing us now in regard to class relations. It must be tackled satisfactorily in every respect, our efforts being concentrated on the struggle against imperialism to achieve the peaceful reunification of our country and the building of socialism in the North. We must make everybody realize this point.

IDEOLOGICAL WORK MUST BE DIRECTED AT SERVING TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

We must thoroughly grasp the problems of industrialization.

Now I'll speak about the second point: the necessity of a technological revolution. The central task of our revolution at present is the building of the material and technical basis of socialism. Every work should revolve around it. We have to understand that the passing of one system to another is the shifting of one mode of production to another and the application of a new technique. Handicraft is the mode of production of feudalism, large-scale industry that of capitalism and also socialism—the lower stage of communism. Ours is a small individual production, based on manual labour. Under feudalism, small production can only advance to large-scale capitalist production, but in our era of transition from capitalism to socialism, small production can progress to large-scale socialist

production with the help of the socialist camp endowed with a modern industry. We are taking this road. We go directly from small production to large-scale socialist production, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. This socialist production will take large-scale and heavy industry as its basis. The basic object of this shift is to turn manual labour into mechanized labour. To this end, we must have electric power, iron and steel. When we say that electricity takes the lead, we thereby mean that we have to develop it to serve mechanization, and not we should achieve electrification first. Mechanization requires heavy industry, that is a machine-building industry. What is this for? Precisely to equip agriculture, light industry, transport and communications, and capital construction. We must equip agriculture with machines, for only mechanized agriculture can produce food in abundance and contributes to raise man's living standard. The equipment of light industry is necessary as it turns out nearly all commodities we need every day. The mechanization of transport and communications, and capital construction serve industrial and agricultural production. With the assistance of the socialist camp, we can right now undertake this enterprise, although we still dispose of an undeveloped heavy industry. During the last seven years in effect we built a number of light-industry factories, and by 1965 we shall be able to produce most of our staple commodities. The same holds good for agriculture: we cannot make ploughing machines as yet but we must and can import them. That is the way we proceed at the first stage of industrialization, which

should not last indefinitely, for the life of a whole society cannot depend entirely on foreign aid.

We start from small, individual production directly towards great socialist production. Thanks to the help and co-operation of the socialist countries, we can build modern enterprises and equip our economic branches with modern technique. But semi-mechanized production still plays a very important role. Viet Nam's technological revolution proceeds both by leaps and bounds and step by step at the same time. It goes by leaps and bounds because some branches adopt modern technique and step by step because small enterprises will be turned into medium-size ones then large ones, with manual labour giving way to semi-mechanized then mechanized labour.

We shall achieve industrialization within some decades during which our technological revolution will not only shift manual labour to mechanized labour, but will keep in touch with the current technological revolution in the world. The Soviet Union is now carrying on such a technological revolution to build communism. After five or ten years, we will buy not only the machines we now see, but most up-to-date ones from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, we will import the latest technique on automation, chemistry, etc. Thus, the under-developed countries have the advantage of enjoying the most modern technique.

Our industrialization is aimed at supplying equipment to our own economy — that of the North and also of the South in future, for our country will surely be reunified. It will thus serve thirty to forty million

people throughout the country. With such a point of view, we must definitely build a relatively complete heavy industry and an independent economy. So stated the Third National Party Congress. This means that we shall set up, not all branches, but such important ones as engineering, metallurgy, electric power. Those will serve as the basis of our economy. We can certainly do it for we enjoy the help and co-operation of our socialist camp. This is a particular condition that the capitalist countries did not benefit from when they embarked on industrialization. I have had the opportunity to read a document on Japan on this subject. This country had to spend nearly sixty years and import almost all its raw materials while the per capita annual food average in the first years of industrialization was only 125 kilos. As for us, we have more raw materials than Japan, and the per capita food average is about 300 kilos. There are good grounds for believing that in some decades we shall possess an advanced economy.

Standing for an independent economy, we shall not dispense with co-operating with the socialist countries. Far from this. We are well aware that without the help and co-operation of the socialist countries a rather small and economically backward one like ours can by no means achieve socialist industrialization. When we have achieved it, that help and co-operation, instead of decreasing, will be broadened. What then is the significance of the building of an independent economy? We all know that large-scale industry implies, not the construction of small village or regional workshops, but big plants which, given the present-day technical level,

require a capital accumulated by our entire people. To build industry the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries had to mobilize the wealth of their nation and set up trusts, cartels, joint-stock companies, etc. Together with the concentration of capital on a nation-wide scale, industry requires international co-operation and division of labour. Large-scale industry, therefore, has both a national and international character. The international character itself is not the same for capitalist and socialist countries. That is why, we must point out what is national and what is international in our industrialization: these two aspects complete each other, but the national aspect must be predominant. Because each country is an economic unit and, as such, has an economic setting, economic conditions, a technical level and a division of labour of its own. Starting from differing economic bases, all the socialist countries will attain similar goals. They differ from capitalist countries in that they help and co-operate with one another, while the latter compete with one another. Such help and co-operation, however, do not preclude at the present stage the peculiarities of each nation so as to merge all these separate economic units into a single one. While enjoying the assistance of, and co-operation with, other countries, we have, as our main job, to work out a most rational organization and division of labour in our economy by which we can make rapid progress. Our country has undergone major changes. In the past, our people worked individually in separate families; now, it can be said, the whole Vietnamese society is one family. If formerly everybody worked for himself, now all

people work for the common good of the society, and the wealth thus produced is distributed, as a principle, according to the work done. But the same does not apply for the socialist countries in their relations; there are only exchange, co-operation and mutual assistance between various independent economic units. Consequently, we must mainly rely on ourselves to carry out industrialization. Over the past several years, our fraternal countries extended us boundless assistance, giving us hundreds of millions of *dongs* without return. Such an assistance exists only between socialist countries, something understandable while we are at the first stage of industrialization. As economy grows up will there be any reason why we should continue receiving such one-way assistance? It is wrong to rely on one-way assistance from fraternal countries. This is selfishness, parasitism, not communism. All the wealth produced by the people of a country is first and foremost to improve their own livelihood; as for the assistance to fraternal countries without return, it should be extended only when they meet difficulties, especially in the first period of their national construction. Only by so doing can every country contribute to the reinforcement of the whole camp.

Socialist industrialization demands *fund accumulation*. Nowadays it requires a huge capital. For example: the building of the Thai Nguyen iron and steel complex with an annual capacity of only 200,000 tons of steel, costs 600 million *dongs*. With a population like ours we need 10 million tons of steel every year.

Undertaking industrialization at a time when half of our country is fighting against the Americans, we

must take into consideration the revolution in the South. While concentrating our fund, we must pay attention to the gradual improvement of the people's livelihood, because this is an urgent requirement of the working people and also because we must fulfil a great political task—the peaceful reunification of the fatherland. Unless we raise the Northern population's living standard we cannot make our Southern compatriots turn their mind to the North and fight eagerly. Thus, fund accumulation is a very intricate problem. We must strive to practise thrift, correctly solve the relation between accumulation and consumption. Many in our Party, among our people and especially our peasants, have not thoroughly understood this problem.

But thrift alone cannot basically solve the question of fund accumulation. The best way towards this goal is to increase social wealth rapidly. Fund will augment with the same tempo as social wealth. And as labour creates all kinds of social wealth, our source of accumulation lies in the labour of our seven million toilers, among them only some hundred thousand serve in industrial enterprises, whereas the overwhelming majority are peasants. In agriculture the average per capita land holding is three *sao*; few countries are as poor as ours in crop-land. As a result of this scarcity of land and a backward farming technique, we can put by only from one-tenth to one-fifth of what we produce. This is our greatest difficulty, the most specific feature of our country. When the Soviet Union started industrialization the per capita average was 640 kilos of cereals, 200 kilos of potatoes, 31.4 kilos of

meat, 185 kilos of milk; so it could export a great quantity of wheat and other agricultural products in exchange for machines and other equipment required by industrialization. In addition, our population increases rapidly. Hence, there must be effective measures to enlarge the area under cultivation in order to get rid of the “three *sao* shackle” and raise the per capita land holding in the countryside to 4 *sao*. Moreover, we strive so that one *sao* can feed us and the yield of the other three *sao* can be exchanged for instruments of production fertilizers, and other industrial goods. That is why the Third Party Congress has stated: We must liberate manpower in the plains, organize land reclamation in Viet Bac and Tay Bac, exploit all the resources in mountain and coastal areas, and improve technique. The resolution of the Fifth Session of the Party Central Committee pointed out very basic problems with regard to the laying of a new material and technical foundation for agriculture, viz. building of hydraulic works, production of fertilizers and insecticides and improvement of farm-implements. The solution of these problems will help largely multiply annual crops and increase land productivity. The improvement of farm-implements constitutes the first step of our technological revolution. With it a work which has to be done in three days can be finished in one day. As long as our industrialization is not completed, the amelioration of farm-implements to gradually increase productivity assumes paramount importance.

In this way, to accumulate fund for industrialization, we must attach great importance to the development of agriculture.

Now I am speaking a little more about the relation between industry and agriculture. Agriculture must serve as a basis for industrialization, whereas heavy industry is the foundation of our national economy as a whole. It is impossible for our country not to do so. Because food shortage prevents the promotion of industry, because the development of agriculture enlarges the consumption of the products turned out by heavy industry such as fertilizers, insecticides, farming machines, etc., and, as a result, gives an impulse to heavy industry. Because with a thriving agriculture the peasants can afford to spare money for consumer goods, thus pushing light industry ahead. Moreover, it is to be noted that 80 per cent of the raw materials required by light industry is produced by agriculture, and that the development of light industry will create conditions for heavy industry to progress. When carrying out industrialization all capitalist countries took into consideration the establishment of an agricultural basis. On the one hand, they develop agriculture at home, on the other, they exploit agriculture in the colonies. We cannot take their path. For us industrialization involves the building and advancement of industry, and, simultaneously, the furthering of agriculture. To give priority to the development of heavy industry means to concentrate funds on heavy industry; however, we must see to it that an adequate proportion is devoted to agriculture for both long-term and short-term plans. If too little funds is invested in agriculture, it will develop slowly, thus offering unreliable basis for industrialization, but if too much is earmarked for it to the detriment of heavy industry, agriculture

will not be able to advance either. Therefore, a rational and well balanced investment of time must be ensured in industry and agriculture in each period. Nevertheless, priority must be given to the development of heavy industry to promote that of other economic branches.

The peasantry must be made to understand that industrialization is a common cause.

I have just dealt with a number of problems on industrialization, which are not very clearly understood by us all. Over the past years, as many people did not understand what industrialization was, wrong ideas cropped up. The cadres who carry out ideological work to help secure the success of industrialization must thoroughly grasp the content of all relevant problems so as to correctly explain practical matters. If explanatory work clearly shows what industrialization practically implies the peasants will understand that crops must be multiplied and production boosted to meet the requirements of industry, that agricultural products have to be exported in exchange for machines we needed in industry, and why in the events of crop failure the peasants should reduce their ration. Then, let them consume 15 kilos of rice per month instead of 20, so that the workers may have also 15 kilos. Ideological work must make the peasantry realize that industrialization is also their own business so that they support it and feel elated with it. This inter-relation is not easy to grasp indeed. We have to expound it

convincingly, very patiently; on the other hand, cadres and Party members must set good examples. It is very likely that now the people do not understand, and that they will. There are policies which the people do not understand, but seeing that cadres and Party members implement them, they follow suit. During the Resistance War, when the slogan "all for the battlefield" was set forth everybody put it in practice, because at that time besides our people's traditional patriotic spirit, our propaganda and explanatory work was done satisfactorily and our cadres proved to be exemplary by their devotion and sacrifices.

In regard to sacrifice, some points have to be elucidated. During the Resistance War, we called for sacrifice as the nation's very existence was at stake and the question of life and death then became a burning one. At present, too, the spirit of sacrifice must be highlighted, with the difference, however, that importance should be attached to the interests of all, that is, distribution should be equitable and rational, the fairest distribution now being based on the work done. Now, to cut our State expenses and spare money for the building of socialism, for our own future, is to accept sacrifices. The rest of our income will be distributed to everybody according to the work he has done. In this respect complex problems are outstanding. The difference in wages between pretty good technicians and ordinary workers is not very appreciable. A family with two skilled workers can earn about two hundred *dongs*, or as much as a minister. The lowest wage of a worker is 27 *dongs*, that is roughly one fifth of the highest wage. This is a feature particular to our country. But the

income of a peasant seems low in comparison to that of a worker. The per capita income of peasants being only about 10 *dongs* a month, a family with five members earns about 55 *dongs* a month, so they wonder whether they are making sacrifices to build their future or to let others enjoy higher wages. This is a complicated problem. During the Resistance War, as everyone got nearly the same wage, our ideological work was easy. Now our explanations to the effect that everyone should accept sacrifices is a very hard job. We have to go deeper into the masses to explain still more clearly to make everybody understand that those things are not irrational as they think. We must show the peasants that if a worker earns 100 or 27 *dongs* a month, he is paid according to the value of his work, and so is he who among them earns 10 *dongs*. And that is just and rational. It must be recalled that for a worker who has to feed his whole family with a monthly salary of 27 *dongs*, the living standard is much lower than that of a peasant with an average income of 10 *dongs*. Our cadres do not see all that this aspect of the problem involves so as to make their explanations more comprehensible to the peasants. We must say unequivocally that there are high and low wages, otherwise socialism could not be built. If a man who works harder than another and whose technical ability is higher, is not better paid, then we cannot encourage him to study and raise his technical level, thus hindering technological revolution. A distribution equal for all is unjust and irrational. Moreover, we have to stress that at present there must be mutual assistance and support and sharing of hardships to speed up the

advance of our country. Interests and duties should be dealt with simultaneously. At the same time there should be correct policies to make ideological work easier. If our explanations are sensible and logic and if we grasp the laws of thinking, we will be able to convince everybody. Now, though not living in want a number of cadres — even in Hanoi — are in confusion. This is very dangerous. When a difficult situation arises, each primary branch of the Party, each Party member has to wonder what their responsibility requires them to do? If every Party member thoroughly explains the situation and the government's policies to deal with it, the people will understand, however great the difficulties facing us. But, if, on the contrary, our cadres are in confusion and complain, the entire society will be in a flutter. Small wonder that our ideological work is not very satisfactory.

Our ideological work should now concentrate on serving technological revolution. Socialist transformation once basically completed, we must devote our efforts to construction and technological revolution to boost production. The success of this technical revolution requires among other things, technical cadres, new ideas, investment. Investment, the pooling of our wealth and manpower for construction constitutes the main problem. Unless we thoroughly grasp this point, our ideological work will follow a wrong direction. Man acts according to his thinking, and once he understands the significance of his deed, he will act even at the cost of his life. During the Resistance War, so many persons dared to make the sacrifice of their lives for they had clearly realized the necessity to save their country. A

hero who uses his own body to prop a gun or stop a loophole, is doubtlessly prompted by a noble ideal, not by individual interests. It is the same with a collectivity. Ideological work has clear-cut economic, social and political contents. Once we grasp these contents and properly handle the laws of thinking, we shall be able to make the masses work wonders, and march forward even in most difficult times.

WE MUST GRASP AND CORRECTLY APPLY THE LAWS OF THINKING

Now I am dealing with the ideological and cultural revolution briefly and on a few general points only. The Third Party Congress has pointed out that along with a technological revolution, we must carry out an ideological and cultural revolution. Propaganda and educational cadres are those who have most to do in this revolution. We all know that specific laws govern nature, society and thinking. As thinking has its specific laws, we must grasp and correctly apply them in the ideological and cultural revolution. Though, as a product of existence and economic conditions, thinking is governed by specific laws, it plays an active role, possesses an independent character, and in its turn influences existence and economic conditions. The overall thinking of a man forms his world outlook and his outlook on life. Due to differences in economic conditions and in relations of production all classes

under capitalism have a world outlook and an outlook on life different from that of the classes under feudalism. Our ideological revolution aims at giving everybody a new outlook on life compatible with the new economic conditions, new relations of production and technique — a socialist outlook.

Let us not only grasp theories but also link our feelings with theories.

Man's outlook on life constitutes a question of both reason and feelings. Reason and feelings are closely related and, in a given outlook, united. For example, in our country loyalty to the king sprung from reason and sincere feelings. True, the king was regarded as the representative of the nation and when he died people wept. Man's mind and feelings are built up with the help of philosophy, literature, art, politics, etc. Ideological and cultural revolution has precisely to bring activities on these fields into play. There is no question of using violence or administrative measures; one has to rely on the people's consciousness and free will. The same principles govern ideological revolution and criticism and self-criticism. The problem is to determine what to destroy and what to build, both of these aspects having to be closely connected. We build the new and destroy the outdated. The question of what to destroy and what to build is a very delicate and complex one. For example, such qualities as industriousness, thrift, integrity, righteousness, have

differing contents in differing societies. Both the feudalists and bourgeois intelligentsia spoke of them, but gave them differing contents. Nowadays, we, too, speak of the same qualities and understand them in our own way. We should study carefully what is good and has to be retained and what is bad and has to be rejected. So ideological and cultural revolution first and foremost requires of us theoretical knowledge, and awareness of the trend of social development, which ideology is needed by the new society, what must be wiped out of, and retained from, the ideology prevailing in the old society. Thus, the shift from small individual production to large-scale, collective production, which is a great revolution with regard to the relations of production and productive forces, requires that the people be educated in the spirit of being collective masters, and consequently, freed from the spirit of being individual masters. How to proceed? To get rid of the spirit of being individual masters does not mean to reject all that belongs to the individual. Socialism and communism never advocate the rejection of personal interests, but see to it that personal and common interests tally with each other. At present individual production still remains a source of the people's livelihood. We encourage everybody to strive for progress so that the livelihood of each and all may be bettered. For instance, a graduate from a secondary technical school who wants to become a high-ranking technical cadre may be prompted by both common and personal interests. Short of a correct attitude in criticizing his individual motive, if at all, we shall not be objective and prove ignorant of man's psychology. When I do some something to bring about

common interests, these interests include mine; if I sacrifice myself for a common cause, this includes my own interests. By nature man has something of his own, there is no abstract man. One cannot suppress the individual, or society will lose all its significance, its foundations. What we want to destroy is individualism, which cares only for personal interests to the detriment of common interests, and induces man to get rich by means of exploitation. Therefore, in building the spirit of being collective masters we must know what to destroy and what to retain in accordance with the objective conditions. Ideological revolution is the transformation of man's spirit and feelings, the building of a new spirit and new feelings. Now among people who speak of this revolution many, in point of fact, just repeat what they have learnt in books or what other people say without having thought it over by themselves. Reason and feelings thus do not tally with each other. Ideological revolution is a long-term work which requires harmony of reason and feelings. Indeed, to understand man uses reason, and to act he needs feelings which in turn strengthen reason. Therefore, ideological work demands both theoretical knowledge and its connection with feelings, that is why among other things literature and art assume paramount importance. The object of art is man's feelings. To speak of the content of art is to speak of the specific laws governing feelings, hence we must use art to foster feelings. On the other hand, philosophy, generally speaking, appeals to reason, so it, too, should work in concert with literature and art to settle ideological problems. Some comrades complain why art must serve the Party's policies. Their complaints are

groundless, for policies are nothing but lines and guiding principles aimed at accomplishing revolutionary tasks and the objective requirements of social development. In view of the implementation of these policies which are motivated by reason, man's feelings must play their role, hence the need of literature and art. When we say that art and literature serve the Party's lines and policies we mean that ideological remoulding must be linked with the accomplishment of revolutionary tasks, and in this way politics, ideology, culture and economy are closely connected with one another. In practice, difficulties may crop up and complex situations arise. Sometimes, our reason is right but our feelings are wrong, and we go astray. There are people versed in social sciences who speak and act correctly when inspired by seething revolutionary feelings, but commit mistakes when these decline and give way to peace-seeking aspirations. I take Kausky as an example. When still a true and clear-sighted revolutionary he had foretold that the centre of the revolutionary movement would shift to Russia. But his feelings had changed when the revolution broke out there and he became a peace-seeker, a reactionary hostile to the Russian revolution. Thus, though having reached a certain degree of development, reason takes a wrong course if it is not closely linked with feelings.

Adequately to transform the old into the new, the main thing is to develop the good side of man.

Workers and peasants generally have not much theoretical knowledge. However, as they hate oppression

and exploitation, they long for socialism that they deem sensible and just. Consequently, if we want to convince them our reasoning should also appeal to their feelings. We must realize this point above all else when we carry out our ideological and cultural revolution, and help people grasp the evolution of things, entertain ardent feelings and accord their personal interests with those of the society. We cannot allow ourselves to reject all that belongs to the individual; he who maintains the contrary is a sophist. Instead, we have to say to every one: you should take part in the common business, serve the common business because it serves your own. We should not fail to say so to the peasants in particular, and show them where lie their interests. During the Resistance War and over the past few years we have done a great deal for the formation of a new man. Ideological work must serve the requirements of the revolution at each stage, each period. Man is a product of history, a member of the society. When a given society has evolved into another, unless we base ourselves on the features of the man of the former society to build a new one, we shall fail in our task. For us all to understand the Vietnamese is not so easy a job and we cannot say that we perfectly know his characteristic features. So it is up to each of us to see through our self, which implies a comparison with others'. Short of a sufficient knowledge on this point we cannot realize the object of the ideological revolution and what it involves. I thereby mean that we have to better understand the Vietnamese and Vietnam's history. Ours have always been a heroic people, possessed of a

tradition of unity and single-mindedness in the face of foreign invasion. This explains why we succeeded in fighting off much stronger enemies. History is there to bear witness, from Le Loi to Quang Trung, as in our Resistance War. Though largely different nowadays as to the content this tradition has simply developed on the same basis. We must proceed from it to do our ideological work, making a thorough scientific analysis of every problem we deal with. Let's take a few examples. In the opera *The Three Brothers Dien*, three brothers' families, according to the pattern after which unity inside large families under feudalism was expressed, lived under the same roof. Now that our way of life has changed, why do we still show this opera? Another opera—*Luu Binh and Duong Le*. A mandarin sent away his wife to help a friend in his place, with whom she was to live for a time. In our days, who would do such a thing? What was highly lauded would be inhuman on the part of a husband. President Ho has quite apt words to say what he means. He says, for instance, "loyal towards the fatherland" and "pious* towards the people". Thus, far from divorcing from the past, he introduces a new content into an old concept. We now should speak of loyalty and piety which have permeated the feelings of every Vietnamese and can prompt them to sacrifice even his life. That is the way we should adopt in re-education. There was something inappropriate for us Vietnamese in the method we used

* Loyalty to the king, and filial piety were regarded as cardinal virtues under feudalism (*Publ.*).

a few years back, such as inconsiderate and too-strongly-worded criticism. For instance, when somebody said that he joined the revolution in view of his personal interests, immediately he was taxed with an individualistic motive. That is a wrong, absurd way of criticizing, which throws confusion in our ranks. He who is actuated by personal interests may well sacrifice them when necessary. We have remedied this shortcoming recently, by pointing out what to cultivate and what to oppose, with cultivation as the main aspect. We cultivate the spirit of collective masters and oppose the spirit of individual masters. It is right to eliminate what is to be eliminated, but we should do so tactfully so that every one strives to progress consciously and light-heartedly. Avoid that way of doing ideological work which makes people feel as if they have grown coarser and meaner. Everyone has his fortes and his foibles; it would be wrong if you only see his weaknesses and exaggerate them while ignoring his strong points; such a method should be sternly criticized. Our ideological revolution now aims at building up a new outlook on life and, above all, the spirit of being masters of the society, which not all of our cadres thoroughly understand. One day that I visited a political school I asked the students, "You have learnt a great deal of politics, what's the result? Is your overriding political problem the cultivation of a socialist ideology, that is, comradeship and mutual assistance in your study? You grapple with everything but this, for you regard politics as 'obstruse theories'. If we lack affection and mutual assistance in our daily life

and work, without any reason find fault with, or cause trouble to, one another, and waste our time over trifles in Party meetings, then what's the use of studying politics?" Such a situation prevails because our ideological work misses its most important objective now—the cultivation of socialist collectivism.

Ideology and material interests.

Here a problem arises concerning ideology and material interests. That we must pay due attention to material interests is, theoretically, perfectly correct. For we have not achieved communist construction but are still building socialism. We should bear in mind that the problem is not the same under socialism as under capitalism. In a capitalist society it commonly happens that those who toil hard get little whereas idlers earn much; people care for anything but material interests for which they harm and contend against one another, and the stronger get the upper hand. All this reflects the relation between the exploiters and the exploited. Under socialism the harder you work the more you earn. The whole problem is essentially one of justice. That is why from the ideological point of view we should make clear the principle of material interests, distribution according to the work done and, at the same time, that these stem from justice. However, undue emphasis on material interests would lead to their being looked upon as in a capitalist society, to a rush for securing them with all the complexities

that it would entail, and to a situation in which the enjoyment of material privileges would constitute the *raison d'être* of man's life. This would bring about gravest results. Such a situation prevails among a number of youths of some socialist countries and is being redressed. We should avoid one-sided views in ideological work. Our activities in this field aims at helping everyone to take clear-cut views of things and the trend of their developments, and to act correctly. What we say must be based on specific situations in each period, in each region, and never forget to whom we speak. In North Viet Nam the enemy is relying on a number of superstitious and religious believers to sow discord among us. If our comrades are not quite aware of the peculiarities of thinking and talk with them about material interests only, their efforts will bring them nowhere; they should on the contrary assure them that socialism will guarantee to them the exercise of their freedom of belief. And if they spend their time to explain that man is the ape's offspring they will prove very naive, make no contribution to re-education work which is their political task, and, worse still, engender misunderstanding and rancour. Many people believe in religion, in God and Buddha; though nothing proves that their faith is well-grounded, its strength is such that they can safeguard it until their death, whatever happens. We must be aware of this reality and pay due attention to ideological problems rather than merely talk about material interests. In order to do good ideological work we must grasp our political task and go deep into man's thinking, according reason with feelings.

HOW TO PROCEED SO THAT IDEOLOGICAL WORK PENETRATES THE MASSES

Party primary branches and Party members are the main catalysts in ideological work.

Now I am dealing briefly with organizational matters. Good ideological work requires good organizational work and good cadres. It aims first and foremost at the masses of the people and then at cadres—especially Party members—which, consequently, demands that it go deep into the masses and rank-and-file Party members. Not few comrades complain that for the time being it does not reach the masses while others hold that such a situation arises from the lack of an effective organization, of means and cadres to tackle the job properly. I think those comrades are right to a certain extent, but they fail to visualize how our ideological workers should be organized, and how he who leads them should accomplish his duty, so that ideological work penetrates the masses. One of the most striking features of the masses in our country lies in that they look at everything through the Party. They have gone through the process of thirty years of revolutionary struggle, and particularly through nine years of a resistance war, under the Party's leadership. They, therefore, trust the Party and regard its opinion in everything as the best.

Not because we have no propaganda media to guide them but mainly because they repose confidence in the

Party's leadership, esteem it and act upon its advice. Such is not exactly the case in other countries, where people having lived through a period of bourgeois democracy, usually conceive things in the light of their Constitution and laws and through propaganda. Therefore, our ideological work has to be channelled through the Party and the Labour Youth Union to penetrate the masses. To make the latter correctly understand and implement the Party's line and policies Party members, first of all, must grasp them. Propaganda and educational work should enlist the service of the Party primary branches and Party members at the grass-root level, because Party branches are now the bases from which the Party's line and policies radiate in the masses, because Party members are in closest contact with the masses and because both constitute the most important and the most basic force to do ideological work. Of course, it is necessary to set up a propaganda and educational apparatus but the main thing is to bring Party branches and members into action. In the provinces, Party Executives and their Standing Committees as well as the Secretary and Deputy Secretary must grasp the work of the Propaganda and Educational Commission. The latter has to carry out its activities in close co-operation with ideological workers in the various Party branches, in the Labour Youth Union and Women's Union to wage a daily struggle in the ideological field, and cultivate new thoughts among the people. What we lack is not personnel to do that as we have more than one million Party and Labour Youth Union members, but a machine to bring this large force into play.

Our Party's rules have clearly stated that every Party member must do propaganda work, for while educating others he educates himself. In view of this one has not only to read but also to wage ideological struggle. Any Party member who fails to do propaganda work cannot really educate himself. Only by maintaining close links with the masses can we keep abreast with the revolution. Revolutionary feelings are latent among the masses, inherent in the realities of production, and it is in the struggle for production that revolutionary ideas are born. Consequently, any Party member who stands aloft from the masses and does not make propaganda among them, cuts off his ties with the bases of the revolution. Hence, to turn Party members into good propagandists and ideological workers the question is to make them work among the masses in order to raise the latter's level, thereby elevating their own knowledge, too. At present, most of our Party primary branches, those in government offices included, fail to do so. Usually, they meet not to carry out political and ideological education, but to settle administrative matters. That is why we must draw up a plan to consolidate our Party branches in this respect, especially those in the countryside, economic enterprises, construction sites and State farms within two or three years through the implementation of specific works. For example, before engaging in a summer crop we must see to it that our ideological work helps ensure a good harvest. Formerly, when we waged armed struggle the ideological work of the political commissar was aimed at enabling armymen to master combat technique and fight well. Now in

production it is aimed at making the producers get production knowhow and do it as best they can. Therefore, how to have enough water, seeds and manure, how to plough, harrow and transplant seedlings, and so forth, do not rest only with the Rural Affairs Committee. Ideological work must bring home to everybody the necessity of carrying out these jobs. As we did to cope with the enemy so we do in production. We must make our toiling people fight against nature with as much courage and creativeness as they showed in their past armed struggle. Hence, propaganda and educational cadres have also to grasp economic laws and production techniques to a certain extent, to apply their knowledge on this field in their work.

Propaganda and educational cadres must constantly foster their revolutionary virtues.

Propaganda and educational cadres should bear in mind that to fulfil ideological work satisfactorily, apart from understanding the Party's political task in each period, the rules of thinking and whom they have to work on, they must constantly foster their revolutionary virtues. In other words, they must have the determination to bring their job to fruition, and a clear mind; they must be faithful to the Revolution, ardent in revolutionary activities, otherwise their words do not accord with their deeds and carry no weight. Thus, propaganda and educational cadres must form the core and the brain of the revolutionary movement. As thinking takes the lead in every work

they must go ahead, tell everybody what he has to do in each period and set to work himself so as to set examples. Indeed, they have made great efforts but still lack effectual methods of work and should strive harder to find out better ones. They must clearly realize their responsibility and act accordingly, keeping clear from bureaucracy. Whenever they talk with people, whether in a co-operative or a factory, they have to bear in mind that they represent the Party. Such a responsible attitude will help them better fulfil their work. Today I only advance some general views for your consideration. I suggest that we shall go deeper into the matter to bring about a radical change in the Party's ideological work.

WE MUST FOSTER NEW THOUGHTS TO BUILD UP SOCIALISM*

I. SIGNIFICANCE OF AGITATION WORK FOR THE SPRING 1961 POLITICAL REMOULDING DRIVE

Comrades,

The Party Central Committee will launch a large-scale political remoulding drive within the Party and among the entire people to build up and consolidate new thoughts in order to make socialist revolution progress more vigorously. Building new thoughts is a very difficult undertaking. To set up a factory or the material basis for socialism, to abolish a regime or any material foundation is a difficult enterprise indeed, but not so difficult as the cultivation of an ideology, for this is a very complex problem. Ideology is an abstract

* Speech delivered at the meeting to brief propaganda and educational cadres on the political remoulding drive, convened on March 10, 1961 by the Secretariat of the Vietnam Workers' Party Central Committee.

thing not easy to grasp. It reflects a given social existence or the material basis of a given society. To be effective ideological work must start from this social existence or material basis, that is, from objective reality. But ideology has its own active features. For instance, under French rule, to wipe out the imperialists and feudals, first of all we had to carry out ideological work, education and propaganda among the people, to help them adopt an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal standpoint. What was the material basis of our society at that time? As we lost our independence, our economy obviously depended on the imperialists'. This material basis gave birth to an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal ideology. But, owing to other complex factors, all our people did not hold the same view. Some advocated an anti-imperialist struggle while others a "French-Vietnamese entente". That is why propaganda and educational work was a necessity.

The forthcoming political remoulding drive is aimed at performing a task set by the Third National Congress of the Party, that is, to stage an ideological revolution within the Party and among the people and cultivate new thoughts in accordance with the objective requirements of the Vietnamese revolution, of our people's life.

Some people think of political remoulding as of something which has been created just a few years ago. In reality, *it is nothing else than propaganda and educational work, criticism and self-criticism* that our Party has been carrying out ever since its founding. We have propagandized and educated the people, made criticism and self-criticism to overcome shortcomings

and errors. Without intensive propaganda work and, consequently, without the people's correct thinking, our revolution could not be brought to success. What is new is that this political remoulding drive will take place on a larger scale than before; however, it will continue the same work—propaganda and education, criticism and self-criticism within the Party and among the people. This is a very hard ideological struggle. To inculcate new ideas upon a person does not merely consist in speaking to him, but in essence to wage an ideological struggle. The enemy also makes propaganda among the masses. He considers it a very important weapon for his domination, but as his interests go counter to those of the masses, he mainly rules them by laws. The masses never obeying them, he resorts to violence. The case is different with us. Now, in our country, power belongs to the toiling people; ours is basically a toilers' society. Except when we deal with the imperialists and their stooges, in leading our State we do not essentially use violence but democracy, education, propaganda, criticism and self-criticism to march forward. The capitalists and imperialists force the people into submission. It is not so in a communist or socialist society. As all the toilers are masters, the function of the State is chiefly to educate and organize them for the building of a new society, and at the same time, for the repressing of anti-socialist forces. With the labouring people, our main problem is propaganda, education, criticism and self-criticism, in order to acquaint them with the work to be done, develop their fortes and overcome their foibles, so that

society can progress. Therefore, criticism and self-criticism is one of the fundamental laws of a socialist society. We all have gone through ideological remoulding which we now undertake with a better understanding. This time we set out not only to remould the thoughts of us Party members, but also to help the people as a whole grasp new ideological weapons to go forward.

The State also uses these weapons to unite, organize and guide the working people to advance vigorously to socialism. With this in view the coming ideological remoulding drive will exert a powerful influence on the masses and create among them a material force capable of mobilizing and organizing them. Unlike the imperialists who resort to law to force everybody into obeying them, we mainly use criticism and self-criticism to take the people forward. In 1947, comrade Jdanov said that criticism and self-criticism is a necessity driving the socialist society forward. At present, we are abiding by this necessity in leading our State and our Party.

We should bear in mind that though criticism and self-criticism constitutes an ideological struggle which is a necessity, the method used differs from one country to another. What strikes most foreign visitors in the U.S.S.R. is the great beautiful life of the Soviet people. The Soviet Union has not only an ever-developing socialist material basis, but more important is the fact that she has given her people a thorough education, and built up a new man. The content of her education system also includes criticism but the way of applying it differs from what we have been

doing in the past few years. In the German Democratic Republic socialist ideology is also very widely popularized, but, here too, the method is different. Literary and artistic forms, and popular culture are used to educate the people in a delicate manner. Of late, when visiting China I saw that ideological work has been very cleverly carried out. Over the recent years, China has met with great natural calamities, but the Chinese comrades have successfully taught the masses to keep calm and to look straight at difficulties. 650 million people like one man, advance enthusiastically. This is to say that each country has its own way of doing things, and all of them can obtain far-reaching results. Here, the problem is to form a new man, a real man, in the course of history, not an abstract man, one with his national traditions and his way of living compatible with his own nation. To this end, we must see whom we are dealing with—a Vietnamese, a Russian, or a Chinese. These have different traditions and accordingly different minds. Consequently, the educational method must also vary. A same pattern is not suitable for all, or yields little results. Since now as before we have to educate the people, give them new thoughts, how to proceed properly is a question we have to think over. Anyhow we must succeed in this task. The success of the August Revolution was due among other things, to a good propaganda work. Now we must see to it that this is more appropriate to our country. The day before yesterday, I told comrade To Huu * that we have learnt much

* Secretary of the Central Committee, in charge of propaganda and education.

from China, now as in the past, but that we do not model ourselves on the Chinese. In other words, we have to learn from others, but only what suits us.

This ideological remoulding drive is meant as one for propaganda and education, criticism and self-criticism within the Party and among the people. How should we proceed? In revolutionary activities ideological problems must always occupy the first place. To carry out socialist transformation for instance we must educate the people so that they agree with us on it. If the people do not find it indispensable, it cannot be undertaken successfully. They have seen that it is right to abolish classes, but they have not yet realized clearly what they have to build afterwards. Another example: infusing the sense of collectivism in the peasants. At the beginning of socialist transformation, they did not understand what the sense of being masters really meant. Then they just felt that it would extricate them from misery, oppression and exploitation. They did not yet grasp what they had to build after transformation — though this had been expounded before—this sense did not guide all their activities. To be steady it has to be tried and tested for a long time and requires a certain material basis. As usual, ideology lags behind life, but ideological work must take the lead.

Now I am going to deal with *the guiding principle of this remoulding drive which is to build up and consolidate new thoughts*. The problem is to grasp four standpoints which Party members and our people as a whole know to a certain extent. But they have to understand them thoroughly. We advance to socialism

without passing through the stage of capitalist development. After the overthrow of the imperialists and feudals, we shifted from small production, not from a developed capitalist production, to large-scale socialist production. In our country the bourgeoisie is weak and small, the great majority of the population consisting of petty producers that the national-democratic revolution has made masters of a small property. At present, each tiller has three *sao** of cultivable land, not mainly due to the state of small production itself, but rather to the struggle of the entire people, to the revolution, which also accounts for the rapid increase of their income. This is a characteristic feature in Vietnam. We must base ourselves on it to draw up a correct method in our propaganda and education.

Our society being formerly ruled by the imperialists, the intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie and even the landlords were imbued with the bourgeois ideology. As for the overwhelming majority of the toiling people, while bearing the impact of the imperialists' ideology, they were still more influenced by the feudal ideology since for several thousand years they lived under feudal oppression and exploitation. Now liberated, they want to go forward. Their desire to make progress or to improve their living conditions does not mean that they want to develop capitalism. Unless they wish to become exploiters, they cannot be taxed with bourgeois thoughts. It is natural that all toilers long for a better life, which does not mean that they want to become exploiters. It is different, however, with the rich

* 1 *sao* : 360 sq.m.

peasants and the upper-middle peasants who are prone to exploitation. They nurture bourgeois thoughts whereas those who toil and moil have the ideology of the working people and respect labour. It is precisely thanks to this that the toilers have embarked on the path of socialist revolution. So, *for them, what matters most is the building of new thoughts*, and not the transformation of backward ones.

Let us revert to the economic basis. The outbreak of socialist revolution in capitalist countries springs from the lack of harmony between the outdated relations of production and the highly developed productive forces. In other words, large-scale production has been socialized while the relations of production still belong to the regime of private ownership; therefore, these must be smashed to build up new ones compatible with the productive forces. In Viet Nam the productive forces are not developed to such a degree as they no longer correspond to the existing relations of production and require that these should be broken. In fact, the small handicraft production which has occupied the main position in our country, does not tally with the socialist political system established after the restoration of peace. This political system requires a large-scale production. That is why we must transform the old relations of production to pave the way for a large-scale socialist production... This perfectly corresponds to the objective reality. And after the economic restoration period our Party's Policy is to take socialist transformation as the central task with transformation of agriculture as the main link. On the basis of our having basically achieved

socialist transformation, and relying upon our people's capabilities, our natural resources and the disinterested help of fraternal countries, we have set out to establish the material basis for socialism. It is necessary to realize that the socialist transformation of small production differs from that of private capitalist economy. To transform small production is not to abolish the small producers' ownership but to help them acquire a right of ownership larger in scope and higher in form, whereas to transform the capitalist economy is to suppress the bourgeoisie's right of ownership which we regard as unjust. As for the peasants' ownership, we do not liquidate but turn it into a large collective one. Formerly, each peasant had an average of three *sao*, now that he belongs to a collective organization, his land is part and parcel of the common property — the property of the collectivity of which he is a member; he thus lives more comfortably and loses nothing at all. Therefore, the transformation of small production includes the *establishment of new relations of production*. Construction involves two aspects: the building of a material basis and the setting up of relations of production. Here I deal only with the second aspect. What are relations of production? They usually mean relations between man and man, in so far as he possesses means of production or does not, in so far as he exploits or does not. History has known several forms of relations of production. In the stage of slave ownership the relations of production relied on the exploitation of the slaves' surplus-labour, under feudalism — on exploitation of land rent, under capitalism — on exploitation of surplus-value, whereas under socialism

they are characterized by distribution according to the work done. Recently, we have abolished individual relations of production and established new collective ones according to which distribution is based on the work done, free from exploitation. These relations rely on collective labour, and will help accelerate production to its full development. Collective labour creates a new productive force which increases the quality and quantity of products. In this sense, socialist transformation of agriculture and handicrafts in our country, that is, turning individual production into collective production, is in the main construction work. *Just as in economy, in thinking transformation is essentially construction work.* Of course, if we want to build we must put aside what does not suit us. Ideological remoulding includes both construction and destruction but *construction constitutes its principal object*.

To set the problem of ideological education in this way conforms to the objective reality of our economy, otherwise we would score bad results. For instance, it is absolutely right to show the peasants the two paths of development and convince them to follow the right one. But in so doing we must proceed in accordance with our situation; it would be very dangerous to hold that our peasants are all capitalist-minded people. It would be utterly wrong to think that he among them who wants to build a water tank have bourgeois leanings or he who rears some hens* wishes to become a capitalist. The latter may simply

* Apart from their occupations in their co-operatives (Publ.).

think of getting a better shirt with his hens. This is a legitimate desire whereas the lust for exploitation stems from a bourgeois thought. To the peasant, we must say that if he continues indulging in individual production he is exposed to impoverishment and exploitation. We must advise him to take the path of collective production. A peasant toiling alone produces little, but one hundred working together will greatly increase per capita production and as a result, their income. This change in quantity leads to a change in quality. It is the same with means of production; if we gather them and carry out a new distribution of work among their owners, we shall generate a qualitative change. However, quantity must be increased to a given point so as to create a new quality. For instance, a co-operative will remain what it is if it comprises fifteen or twenty households only, but a change will take place once it is enlarged and groups 100 or more households as in the case of the Dai Phong co-operative. That is precisely the reason for socialist transformation in agriculture. If we clearly expound this to the peasant, he will readily accept transformation. We must make him fully understand what he has to do to heighten his revolutionary consciousness. It happens that the explanations given by certain comrades on our line and policies are incorrect. Nevertheless, confident in the Party, the peasants follow them without, of course, enthusiasm. Though 85 per cent of the peasant households entered into co-operativization, there lacks an atmosphere of revolutionary upsurge and enthusiasm in the countryside. This is due in part to our shortcomings in

propaganda and educational work. Our forthcoming ideological remoulding drive should take into account this situation above anything else to build up new thoughts and criticize and eliminate those hindering our advance. Educational work should be conducted according to whom we have to deal with. We should talk differently with peasants, factory workers and intellectuals or bourgeois elements and mind that the latter had learnt a lot under French rule. Propaganda work must be always done in this way.

Here above I have told you the significance of this remoulding drive, the guiding principle and method by which we shall have to abide by. Now I am going to speak of the *new thoughts* which must be inculcated. In ideological education, we cannot speak of ideology in a general way and treat it apart from the objective reality. For we would fall into idealism and thus commit errors in this as in any other work. We must rely upon dialectical materialism to do ideological work. Propaganda work must be based on objective conditions, it cannot be done as one pleases. I should say that new thoughts should be elaborated for each branch of activity, each locality and each person; then every branch must base itself on them to right the wrong committed in implementing the Party's and government's line and policies. We must pay attention to the elaboration and fostering of new standpoints as required by the objective reality, without which our society could not make headway. Any material basis has its own political and ideological superstructure. The political superstructure of our society is the proletarian power set up by the revolution. As for the

ideological superstructure, though it actually exists, many shortcomings have been committed in its construction and in making it suit the present objective conditions. Much care is needed to complete it. In North Viet Nam socialist transformation has been fundamentally achieved. Its economy consists of two main systems of ownership — collective ownership and ownership by the entire people. Besides, there remains private ownership which is of minor importance. Rich peasants still exist but they do not live principally on exploitation. Upper-middle peasants profiting by exploitation are few. This particular state of things should not be generalized; it would be dangerous to do so. Concerning joint State-private enterprises, though they appear to yield some interests to private owners, they practically belong to the system of socialist economy. The law of socialist economy is governing our economy. Almost all the social wealth is produced by the peasants' collective economy or the State economy. Private economy only provides supplementary products to satisfy part of the needs of the farmers who exchange them with State or collective enterprises or among themselves. It is not a source of exploitation. However, the law of socialist economy governs our economy in an inadequate manner, owing to the latter's weakness. Why so? Because our productive forces are still at a low level. Only 20 per cent of the gross industrial and agricultural output derives from modern industrial production. This notwithstanding the obvious fact that the fundamental economic law of socialism is exerting its influence on our present economy. To lead it we must grasp this economic law and

act accordingly. To this end, it is necessary to have correct thinking.

What is this correct thinking?

First of all, the sense of being masters of our country. To speak of proletarian dictatorship which is an objective law of the toiling people's role as masters of their country, is to speak of socialist revolution and socialist construction. *And by proletarian dictatorship we mean that our line and policies must stem from the proletarian standpoint. To the toiling masses, proletarian dictatorship guarantees the right of being masters, the power to repress internal exploiters and to oppose external enemies:* proletarian dictatorship is applied mainly to establish the toiling people's right as masters and to organize labour. To ensure this right it is necessary to repress the reactionaries. In North Viet Nam at present, we stand for peaceful transformation of the bourgeoisie. This differs from what was done in the Soviet Union, where proletarian dictatorship had to resort to ruthless repression to smash the bourgeoisie as a class. *The most important task of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Viet Nam is to make the toiling people masters of their country.* Here it is worth noting that dictatorship must be ensured by the proletariat, while the State belongs to both the workers and the peasants and not to proletariat alone. We say: proletarian dictatorship but the State of the workers and peasants. By this we mean that ours is the line of the proletariat and that the *workers, peasants and toiling people are the masters of the State.* This worker-peasant bloc includes also the intellectuals who serve the workers and peasants; there is no question of taking them slightly.

The role of the toiling people as masters and proletarian dictatorship — this is a necessity which is not easy and simple at all to materialize. We, Party members, have not yet grasped and applied it properly in implementing our policies. The toiling people, too, are not quite aware of it. That is why we must make the whole Party and the entire people clearly understand this necessity.

The second standpoint concerns production. The basic economic law under capitalism is profit making by all means, even in law, in literature, in mapping out political lines; everything is centered on seeking capitalist profits. As for the fundamental economic law under socialism, it points to the development of production and the satisfaction of the toiling people's material and cultural needs. During the stage of primitive communism, production was also aimed at serving the people's material requirements; in the socialist society, it differs in so far as it is no longer based on rudimentary tools but on an unceasingly improved technique. We must clearly see this to realize the great importance of socialist industrialization, without which it would be impossible to unceasingly develop production on the basis of a modern technique. Utmost attention must be paid to production. This does not mean belittling cultural activities. Production constitutes the most basic of all social activities without which not only material but also cultural requirements could not be guaranteed. In our Resistance War, when we put forward the slogan "All for the front", we did not at all neglect culture, education, and other branches, we only meant that the most fundamental problem was

to defeat the enemy. Unless so culture could no longer exist. Therefore, to produce material wealth for the satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs on the basis of an advanced technique, is the basic law of socialism. Every cadre, Party member, worker, peasant and intellectual must thoroughly grasp it. Only with a full understanding of it can our views, policies and action be correct. This is the *standpoint on production* which has to become the prime mover of our activities.

To push forward production *the third point to bear in mind is to be industrious and thrifty in building our country.* Not only a style of work and a virtue, industriousness and thrift are also a necessity under socialism. To develop production the capitalists must accumulate and concentrate capital. For they have to rely on mechanized, not manual, labour to increase exploitation and thus they need capital to build factories. As we want to advance to socialism we must embark on industrialization and, to this end, accumulate funds through labour and thrift with a view to building the material basis of socialism. Failing this, great socialist production would be out of question. To industriously and thriftily build our country constitutes a process of accumulation and concentration of funds to build industry. The aid we receive from the socialist camp has a limit. As we have to rely mainly on ourselves, industriousness and thrift must be carried out at all costs. This necessity must be thoroughly grasped by all Party members and our entire people. Do you want your livelihood to improve? Do you want to build socialism? Do you want manual labour to be

replaced by mechanized labour? The answer must be found in that whether you are industrious and thrifty or not.

The fourth point is: to advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily. This guiding principle is not created by us but dictated by the objective requirement of our society. It is also a law of development of our socialist economy. We no longer work individually and in a scattered manner, but collectively. Instead of working by hand as before we now dispose of a modern technique and can therefore advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily. Only so can we ensure the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the people.

The four points elaborated above, which should be viewed as a necessity, form the content of our coming ideological remoulding drive. We must strive to inculcate them in Party members and the people as a whole. In other words, these should be armed with thoughts compatible with the present objective requirements of our society. To this end, all that is not in line with them must be eliminated. In cultivating new thoughts, we must at the same time rectify backward ones.

II. TO CREATE THE SENSE OF BEING MASTERS AND THE SENSE OF COLLECTIVISM

Let us tackle the problem of being masters of one's country. This is the main aspect of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this connection, we must deal with

our standpoint regarding the leadership of the proletariat and the worker-peasant alliance. A given society is represented by a given class. Any class playing a leading role in a society has to rely on its objective position in economy. The bourgeois revolution was led by the bourgeoisie, though it was the masses of the people who carried it out. The objective conditions at that time allowed the bourgeoisie to do so. Large-scale production made its appearance together with capitalism and rendered the proletariat the most revolutionary class, owing to its economic and social position. Engels said that had it not been for the system of slave ownership, the socialist system would not exist, which means that at a certain historical stage it is difficult to concentrate capital without oppression and exploitation. Oppression and exploitation are bad, but they were an objective historical necessity. At a given stage, capitalism will be wiped out and replaced by socialism. The leading role in a class society at a given stage belongs to a given class: to the bourgeoisie at the capitalist stage, to the proletariat at the socialist stage. Viet Nam does not go through capitalist development and advances straight to socialism, owing to the fact that the proletariat has led the national-democratic revolution and the peasantry has followed it, and that we benefit by the help of the socialist camp. In this revolution the peasantry accepted the leadership of the proletariat not only out of its hatred for imperialism and feudalism, but also because it supported the abolition of the landlords' land ownership advocated by the proletariat. It followed the proletariat and not the bourgeoisie for it realized that the former was the

most patriotic class. Moreover, it recognized the leadership of the proletariat with its political meaning and also with its economic content. Our peasantry was aware that thanks to the Communist (Bolshevik) Party Russian peasants had land to till. Our proletariat has led it to overthrow imperialism and feudalism, and seize power. Though this power is based on class alliance it is in essence held by the proletariat. *To speak of power is fundamentally to speak of violence.* Who uses violence? The proletariat — which does not share power with any other class. With the possibility of using violence it detains what is essential in power. And as power is held by the proletariat, we can shift to the proletarian revolution after the triumph of the national-democratic revolution. Power means violence, without which our Party, no matter what it wields, has no authority and strength. We can thus clearly see that the problem of being masters of the society is first of all that of leadership of the proletariat. To speak of proletarian dictatorship and of the sense of being masters is first of all to speak of the leading class.

By leadership we do not only mean the elaboration of line and policies but, first and foremost, the wielding of real force, the force we actually keep in hand, without which there can be no effective leadership. Where do we find this force? Mainly in the *peasantry* which is the biggest and the principal revolutionary force of our country. Our line and policies come from the Party of the proletariat, but our real force originate from the peasantry. In our nine-year Resistance War our army was recruited from the peasantry. Therefore,

proletarian dictatorship means leadership of the proletariat which must be based on the worker-peasant alliance. Of course, our line and policies must come from the proletariat, our ideology must be the ideology of the proletariat, the proletariat must take the leadership. However, unless there exists a close worker-peasant alliance, the proletariat cannot be master of the society. Some Party members have not yet clearly understood this point. In the national-democratic revolution the peasant problem was easily understood by all, but in the socialist revolution some of our comrades seem to have no clear ideas about the position of the peasantry. They lay too much emphasis on the fact that the peasants are small producers, and, as such, possess tendencies apparently conflicting with socialism. In some respects, and to a certain extent, they are right. From other angles their view is wrong and should be redressed. Our proletarian power was set up by the workers and peasants after the August Revolution and the nine-year Resistance War. Without grasping this characteristic we cannot understand the nature of our power. Under the leadership of the proletariat we seized power in the countryside first, then relying upon the peasantry we strengthened and brought it to towns. It was acquired through the struggle waged by both the workers and the peasants, the latter being the main force. In the Soviet Union, when the proletariat had seized power the workers were more largely represented in the State machine, whereas in Viet Nam the peasants prevailed over the workers in this regard. This does not mean that in our country political power loses its proletarian character. In our social system

this proletarian character does not disappear, it is consolidated instead. Why? Because the peasants in Viet Nam are unlike those in capitalist countries. For thirty years now, especially during the nine-year Resistance War, they have struggled as the main force of the revolution to set up the worker-peasant power. That is why we should not understand the peasant problem in a superficial manner. In the past few years some comrades regarded the peasants as mere private owners. This is not correct. We must distinguish the speculator-peasants from the labouring peasants. It is crystal-clear that the latter have together with the workers established and defended our power. Therefore, we agree with those who hold that we must build socialism in the interests of our sixteen million toiling people, not exclusively in those of the proletariat. We must say that it is for the sake of our sixteen million toiling people that we build socialism, under which the peasants and workers are equal in rights and duties. It is not correct to understand otherwise. The sole difference lies in their ideological consciousness. The working class has never been, and will never be, disloyal to its ally, it does not hold such a sectarian view. Any discrimination in this respect would be inconsistent with the revolutionary practice in Viet Nam. It would be indeed incomprehensible that once power has been taken over we would discriminate against a class which, together with us, has shed blood and shared hardships during nine years of war to set up this power. Such a discrimination would be dangerous if it was translated into our policies. However, from the point of view of ideological consciousness we should not gloss over this

difference. Small producers' ideology still bears the mark of private ownership and individualism whereas that of the workers is collectivism. I fully agree with comrade Mao Tse-tung who said that in China any undertaking should be prompted by the interests of the six hundred and fifty million Chinese people. This is reasonable, correct, and adequate, considering China's objective situation. In North Viet Nam I think we must also say: whatever we are to do must be prompted by the interests of the sixteen million Vietnamese people. It would not be correct to say otherwise. That is why by masters of the country we mean the workers and peasants led by the working class. This basic standpoint must underlie all our policies; an inadequate understanding of it would raise many complex problems. Two most important points stand out: the leadership of the working class and the worker-peasant alliance. If we must possess the standpoint of the working class, we must also have a concrete and thorough conception of the worker-peasant alliance to translate both of them into all of our line and policies. Regarding the peasant question we must pay great attention to the middle peasants. In Western countries they are very individualistic, selfish and sometimes opposed to revolution, for, born under capitalism and brought up by it they have century-old ties with it and stick to private ownership. Our middle peasants are different. They made up 45 to 50 per cent of our Party membership, which was an objective reality, not a fortuitous case. Because they had a very low living standard, they were exploited by imperialism and feudalism and most often went bankrupt. In the Resistance War

they played an obvious role and many joined the Party (it is true that a certain number was admitted without due consideration). After land reform, generally speaking, poor and middle peasants became closer and as the position of the latter no longer remains what it was, we must adopt a correct attitude towards them.

With regard to the middle peasants, Lenin had put forth three slogans: co-operation with the middle peasants during the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal period; reliance on the poor peasants, and neutralization of the middle peasants during the period of proletarian revolution; and co-operation with the middle peasants in socialist construction. Lenin attached much importance to this co-operation in the latter stage of the revolution. This is a policy of great consequence.

What then is our attitude towards our middle peasants? Generally speaking, we should not differentiate them from our poor peasants as far as interests and duties are concerned. At present, on the one hand many poor peasants have become middle ones and, on the other, 85 per cent of the peasantry have joined low-level co-operatives. The passage from individual production to collective production constitutes an extremely important step made by the middle peasants. By so doing they are determined to alienate themselves from individual production and to follow the collective, socialist path. They have become collective farmers. With both the middle and the poor peasants joining the co-operatives, should we still discriminate between them from the point of view of their *interests and duties* in the co-operatives? No, we should not—except as regards ideological consciousness and the Party's

leadership — otherwise, instead of boosting production, we would hinder it.

Therefore, we should not speak of the people's role as masters of the society in abstract terms. When speaking of the leadership of the proletariat *we have to deal with its standpoint*, likewise when speaking of Party building in the countryside *we should distinguish poor peasants from middle peasants*. But we should not differentiate between them when dealing with their interests and duties in the society as well as in the co-operatives. Thus only can we bring about unity within the co-operatives in order to impel production. Proceeding from this standpoint we must have adequate policies, and pay due attention to the middle peasants' interests. Our motto is to struggle so that the living conditions of the peasants in general catch up with those of the upper-middle peasants. This is the path towards wiping out the difference between poor and upper middle peasants, which will no longer exist when the living standard of all peasants reaches that of the upper-middle peasants.

In short, when speaking of the toiling people's role as masters I want to stress one point, that is, *the proletariat's standpoint and ideology, and relevant to this, the worker-peasant alliance*. Unless we give concrete contents to this role and adopt consistent policies we cannot have a clear-cut conception of it. It should imply not only political interests but also economic interests, closely linked to them. Then only can we push ahead the revolution. Some comrades do speak of the worker-peasant alliance and proletarian standpoint but in their practical activities they do not consolidate

this alliance. How can they strengthen the proletarian standpoint and the worker-peasant alliance so long as they do not allow the peasants to sell their hens or give some kilogrammes of rice to their relatives. Such thing causes misunderstanding making people think that when struggling against imperialism and feudalism the peasants could enjoy certain interests, but after embarking on socialism they lose their right as masters of their country. At present, in some localities the toiling peasants seem to think so. This is very dangerous. According to reports by comrades from Thai Binh and Nghe An provinces a lot of mistakes have been made to the prejudice of the peasants, thus creating many complications. As together with the peasants we struggled to win back our right as masters of the society we must respect it. They may ask us, "Having participated in resistance war for nine years, have we the right to be masters of our country? We produce rice and want to give it to our relatives, why are we not allowed to do so? We do not exploit anybody, why are we not allowed to use the rice we produce as we please? We should see every facet of the question and convince the peasants that it is in the nation's interests that he sells paddy to the State. During the Resistance War, though living in want they fed cadres. Now they agree with socialist construction. Of course, we must resolutely oppose the speculators who are dangerous but few and, at the same time, guard against treating every one as a speculator. I repeat that the toiling people's right as masters should be respected. It would be painful for us communists who have been

struggling for tens of years to bring it to the workers and peasants to see it violated now.

Our present power is the dictatorship of the proletariat. A number of Party members still imbued with the petty-bourgeois ideology rely on the authority of the proletariat to take arbitrary decisions. We must do everything in our power to guarantee the people's right as masters. For this purpose we have a Constitution, and the leadership of the Party from its primary branch upward. The Party's line and policies fundamentally guarantee this right, but in carrying them out some cadres have deviated from them, others applied them wrongly out of subjectiveness. This is due to our cadres, and also to the peasants and workers being not fully conscious of their right. Even in Hanoi, not every worker can realize that he has his representatives to lead the affairs of the whole city and that he himself is also responsible for its management. That is why we must oppose individualism. On the other hand, we should make it our duty, first and foremost, to ensure the people's right as masters of the country, and guard against violating it ourselves. This must be expressed, above all, in our policies. Still few toiling people have the opportunity to attend performances in the Hanoi Grand Theatre. The Party Central Committee has demanded that the Hanoi Party committee see to it that they may go more often to this theatre and take part in the meetings held there in order to better realize their rights and how their livelihood in this respect has been improved. Otherwise they cannot see that they are masters of their city. In the Soviet Union the workers live in big villas belonging formerly to the

bourgeoisie. The best things there are reserved for the workers and the labouring people. Our conception of the people's right as masters is not yet clearly translated into deeds. Our workers have not yet fully realized this right of theirs, that is why we have to further educate them, and give them more power.

In this connection, there still exist erroneous conceptions and complex problems. For example: Some people often say that light industry yields more profit. For whom and from whom do we reap profit? For the State, they say. Good! Of course, this is also a means to accumulate funds for the State, for the workers and peasants. But from where do we draw profit? The capitalists invest in light industry and net big profit from the toiling people. If we imitate them we then consider the State as the master, and the toiling people as the customers rather than the masters of the State! This is an unsound conception. We must be aware that the role of light industry is not to accumulate vast funds — which falls on a developed light industry turning out goods for export to draw profit from abroad — but to satisfy the people's needs in consumer goods. To increase accumulation we must raise labour productivity, that is, to equip the workers with new technique, manufacture more means of production, develop heavy industry. Heavy industry ensures enlarged reproduction, which creates possibilities for ever larger accumulation. Let's make a calculation. The monthly wage of a worker is some score of *dong*; the peasant has 3 *sao* of land only. After paying for their food they have a little money — and sometimes nothing at all — to spare at the end of the year. What and how

much can light industry cater for with such a low purchasing power? Surely, we would not draw much profit from a light industry should we develop it. If we want the workers and peasants to be able to pay for their food and other necessities — which are on the increase — and to spare more every day we must achieve socialist industrialization, and give priority to the development of heavy industry. As for light industry it must aim at meeting the people's needs as far as possible. By so doing only can we derive profit. But what is to be done to improve unceasingly the people's living conditions? More fund must be concentrated on industrialization and at the same time, efforts must be made to produce the largest quantity possible of consumer goods to satisfy the toiling people's needs rather than reckon profit and losses in a shortsighted manner, provided we do not curtail the fund earmarked for heavy industry. Very likely, by lowering prices we shall raise the number of consumers, develop production and solve the employment problem. This will be in itself a profit. It occurs that the peasants need means of production but cannot afford to buy them. Conditions must be created for them to acquire these means in order to boost agricultural production, which will benefit the society. This is the genuine conception of socialist business. The economic law under socialism opens up new prospects for economic development that we do not thoroughly grasp. Of course, light industry produces wealth by itself, but what permits to create wealth is, first of all, heavy industry. Only by developing this can we further enlarge reproduction to satisfy the people's ever-increasing needs. In the final

analysis, to reap as much profit as possible we have to make the best of our labour force and our natural riches to promote construction and production. Without a clear understanding on this point, our economic work will be greatly limited. Up to recently our Bank has not realized that, in our socialist system, currency must be utilized to organize productive labour. Fish abound in our sea. With five hundred big boats we would have been able to get much more fish, but as the Bank did not pay due attention to the question we lacked money to have them built. There was no shortage of labour force for this work, thousands of toilers still have no work enough to do. In the same way we have plenty of wood in our forest and yet we lack it for our own use. Our shortcomings lie in our failure to understand clearly that we are masters of our country.

Of course, our role as masters must be understood in many fields: political, economic, cultural, etc., each of them fraught with many difficulties that we have to overcome. We should think it over and over again to understand it more properly, which is naturally no easy problem. Indeed, on the one hand we are masters of our country, on the other, objectively, our economy still consists of two kinds of ownership, we still resort to buying and selling, and fund accumulation still meets with many difficulties. Nonetheless, without striving to have a correct understanding of the question, we shall remain in a passive position, thus restricting our capabilities in production, consumption and in raising the people's living standard.

At present in North Viet Nam, American and Diemist agents have definitively no right to be masters. The capitalists who are being transformed gradually into toilers will enjoy it step by step; for them it is limited now. So long as they stick to exploitation, there is no question of their benefiting this right. The workers, the peasants and almost all the brain workers are masters of the society. Why not to mention the women? I don't want to discriminate against them for they are also workers, peasants and intellectuals. The right to be masters belongs to all labouring people, the exploiters excluded.

Furthermore, when I say that the labouring people are masters I mean that they are *collective masters*. In Viet Nam, there existed the right to be individual masters, which belonged solely to the capitalists and landlords. Since the labouring people have become masters of the society, they are collective masters. Formerly, we took care but of ourselves and our family, now we look after the whole people and are the managers of our fatherland. This is in line with communism. The labouring people are brothers and sisters of the same family. Together, they build their country so that old people may rest, children may go to school, everybody has a job to live on and is educated. They are bent on bringing into being a new life in which all citizens are equal, irrespective of their nationalities, social activities, whether they are men or women. Only by proceeding from the proletarian stand can such a glorious task be fulfilled because the proletariat alone has the sense of collectivity and, therefore, can make everybody master of their society. Only by helping

everybody grasp this point can we arouse a powerful revolutionary mettle. We must make him clearly realize his rights and duties and set him at rest about his and even his children's future. Then, all people will eagerly stand ready to overcome hardships and difficulties.

What hinders us from playing our role as collective masters is individualism. The behaviour of an individualist stems systematically from strictly personal motives. Fighting individualism does not mean at all suppressing the individual. We should bear in mind, however, that the latter can exist and develop only within the collectivity and that he finds the best conditions to serve himself in serving the collectivity. So we should not criticize what is legitimate in the individual. For instance, he who cares for his health or wishes to become an educated man, is not an individualist at all. Neither can be taxed with individualism a peasant family who want to raise fowls at home* to improve their living conditions; instead, this is advantageous to the society. A skilled factory technician who has something to say about his unreasonably low wage is not actuated by individualism, he is right to do so. Without individuals there is neither society, nor collectivity. The producers have a given aim—to serve themselves and others—without which nobody wants to produce. This is natural, for production itself must have an objective. Our last resistance war was aimed at saving our country, so everyone was ready to do his best to kill the enemy, braving

* Apart from their work at the co-operative (*Publ.*).

hardships and death. Now in socialist building, production must also have an objective—the satisfaction of the people's needs—which must be attained. It is incorrect to grant anybody a wage lower than that he deserves or to pay for a commodity less than what it costs.

But it is different with the cadres who are communists. We, Party members, live and work for the Party's cause and ideal, not solely for our material interests. We realize that beyond ours there are the material interests of the society. Our ideal is to bring welfare to the people, and to this end we may have to sacrifice our personal interests. On this score, unless we accept sacrifices and set an example to others, we will blur the dividing line between Party members and the masses, thereby stripping the Party of its responsibility towards the people. We must remember that we joined the Party because we have espoused its ideal and the aim it pursues, and that we did so to help the Party fulfil its task and attain its objective—to build a happy life for the people. As Party members we bear a good name that strenuous efforts should be exerted to deserve. We should be the first of all to endure hardships and sacrifices. We must show sacrificing spirit, more progressive thinking and wider knowledge to fulfil our task. This is precisely the *raison d'être* of our Party and of us, Party members. Upon our admittance into the Party we have pledged ourselves to make sacrifice for the Party's ideal. We must constantly grasp the Party's ideal and objectives. Whenever you go counter to its ideology you will stand aloft from it, you will no longer belong to it. It is thus necessary to distinguish Party members

from the masses. Formerly during the Resistance War, we lived together, and together endured hardships, so everybody was ready to sacrifice for this ideal. Now that our State power has been consolidated, wages are paid according to the work done and cadres have different living standards. Therefore, the Party's ideal should be more frequently recalled and inculcated in Party members. Those comrades who, for duty's service, and according to our distribution system, live in comfortable houses and ride in motor-cars, must never lose sight of this ideal, make further efforts or they will be spoiled.

To build up a collective spirit we must oppose individualism. Among the masses we must struggle against the following trends: to think exclusively of one's own interests and forget the common interests, not to consider one's own interests in relation to the common interests. We must make people understand that their interests rest within the common interests, that without the latter the former cannot exist. Cadres must know to sacrifice their personal interests for the common interests.

Now let us speak of salaries. As our production is still at a low level, distribution must be based on the work done, hence high and low salaries. It is true that cadres and Party members receive different salaries, but this bears no resemblance whatever with what prevails in the bourgeois society, in which the capitalist's income is tremendously higher than that of the worker. At present, our salary-scale presents no great differences. In the mining areas, not few workers get 150 *dongs* monthly apart from 50 or 60 *dongs*

earned by his dependents whereas the salary of a minister or a member of the Party Central Committee amounts to 200 *dongs*. In some mines, as many as three or five hundred families count two or three members having such an income. This is to say that because of our country's low production, material incentives are needed and differences in income still exist. These differences are aimed at a fair and rational distribution in a given situation. We must clearly realize and make people understand that this is an objective necessity, advantageous to the society, instead of letting the difference in remuneration overshadow our sense of being masters of our society.

III. — STANDPOINT ON PRODUCTION

Our standpoint on production is different from that of the capitalists. The capitalists produce for profit while we do for the satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs. Thus, our objectives and theirs are completely at variance.

When the bourgeoisie made revolution, there had already existed a capitalist economic basis, but as the superstructure of the then society did not suit the latter it overthrew this superstructure by a revolution. The developed capitalist countries which embarked on socialist revolution, disposed also of a large-scale capitalist production, but as the capitalist relations of production did not correspond to the productive forces they had to be abolished.

There was no such situation in our country. We did not start building a socialist economy on the basis of a highly developed capitalist one. Our economy mainly relied on small production and it was from this that we proceeded. We did transform the capitalist relations of production but these were insignificant. Here, we must take into consideration a point of great importance, namely *the transformation and development of production in our country bears no resemblance to what is to be done in a developed capitalist country.* All the funds of the bourgeoisie cannot suffice to build an enterprise of the size of the Hanoi engineering plant for example. *As we advance chiefly from a small production economy, the main question is to start from small size enterprises to build big ones.* We do not gather together for the sake of collective work, but for the promotion of production. If collective farming does not yield more than individual farming it would not be worthwhile to go in for collective production. Recently, after the transformation of handicrafts in some localities where the cadres did not grasp this significance, production has decreased. We undertake the transformation of small production to develop it, and not for transformation's sake. In transforming capitalism we aim at liquidating exploitation, and turning private means of production into collective ones. The most important problem is to bring small production to large-scale socialist production; all other problems spring from this. To this end, we have carried out co-operativization of agriculture and handicrafts, chiefly agriculture. Here, an extremely important question arises, which we must clearly

understand. We know that the division of social labour is mainly based on technique and instruments of production. Production consists of two aspects; relation between man and man and relation between man and nature, which are dialectically linked with each other. To produce, man has to exploit natural resources for his subsistence and to act on nature, he must use his labour force, and at the same time create implements and other means of production which also derive from nature. When the implements change they make man's impact on nature more efficacious and yield more wealth, thus changing the relation between man and nature. This change in its turn will lead to a change in the relation between man and man. So, the relation between man and man changes with the instruments of production. Therefore, Marx said that the shifting from an economic system to another is the shifting from one technique to another. Handicraft tools engender the feudal system whereas the implements for large-scale mechanized production give rise to the capitalist system. The shifting from manual labour to mechanization is a very great revolution in the development of production. We, in Viet Nam, are advancing from small production towards large-scale socialist — not capitalist — production. For this purpose we must dispose of new instruments of production and new productive forces; in other words, we must mechanize our production. Co-operativization on the basis of utilizing old implements and manual labour does increase production but not beyond a certain limit. If a co-operative — in which naturally work is done collectively — entirely relies on hand-tools for

its normal functioning, these cannot fit, or, if at all, not for a long period. In the long run, they will inevitably make room for others. Without replacing them by machines, we would not be in a position to satisfy the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the labouring people. We must have such new instruments as ploughing and harrowing machines serving as the firm basis for the development of the co-operative. Hand-tools can be used individually, they do not make collective work necessary for the farmers. That is why when we speak of production, we should see a problem of paramount importance for us now, namely, technical revolution. After revolutionizing the relations of production and wiping out exploitation, the greatest remaining problem is technical revolution without which there is no question of stepping up production. Socialist construction aims at meeting the material and cultural demands of the people on the basis of an ever-developed technique. To this end, we must proceed towards mechanization, then automation and the utilization of atomic energy in production, otherwise communism cannot be built up.

Thus, a new productive force must be created in each historical stage to set up a new regime. That is why, after economic transformation, the problem facing us is to carry out socialist industrialization. *What is industrialization? It is to mechanize all our economic branches, replace manual labour by mechanized labour.* Here lies the object of socialist industrialization, and also of technical revolution. Technical revolution means reorganization of labour and improvement of instruments of production, which are two

things linked closely with each other. Over the recent years, we have considered socialist transformation as the main link, created new relations of production in agriculture and handicrafts, abolished capitalist relations in industry and trade and, at the same time, paid due attention to socialist construction. However, little has been done in socialist construction because it can start vigorously only after the completion of socialist transformation and also because our capabilities are still limited. At this new stage we cannot content ourselves with maintaining and consolidating the relations of production. What is to be done now in the countryside is to boost production. Failing this we cannot consolidate the relations of production themselves — something that we shall not achieve by simply urging people to work collectively. We have to develop production and make the instruments of production better correspond to the new relations of production. The problem of setting up co-operatives with 200 households from those having only 30, of turning lower-level co-operatives into higher-level ones, does not consist merely in perfecting the relation between man and man but in improving the relation between man and nature, and only by so doing can we consolidate the relation between man and man. For instance, in a 200-household co-operative, when all engaged in cultivation, the relation between man and nature differed from what it is now that, say, 100 till the land and another 100 do wood-cutting. This difference impels production which, in turn, consolidates and promotes the relation between man and man. The settlement of this relation just

prepares conditions for our advance and once it has taken shape, stress must be laid on production or we shall go astray. Indeed, at the beginning we cannot speak of development of production without referring to class relations. But when the new relations of production have been established, we must shift emphasis on production to consolidate the relations of production. Unless we carry out socialist industrialization we cannot strengthen these relations of production. Barring industrialization, these new relations in our countryside doubtless will not last long, for natural calamities cannot be overcome, or production cannot keep pace with the requirements of development. Hence, the need for new production forces as a basis on which to consolidate and maintain the new relations of production and impel production. These new production forces reside in the means of production, and the tools supplied by industry.

Industry and agriculture are the two most important branches of production. Such other branches as communications, transport and trade should serve industrial and agricultural production. *What then must be the relation between industry and agriculture?* Here, there exist many problems that we must view from many angles. For instance, when we say that production serves the people's material and cultural needs, which, of agriculture, and industry, is more important? From the point of view of man's requirements agriculture plays a more important role because man cannot live without food and clothes.

On the other hand, to have means of living, man must bring influence to bear on nature. Without

industry this influence will be very limited, so will the quantity of the means of living. Production develops mainly since industry exists. Without mechanized tools, with manual labour only, production is negligible. Only when mechanized, can industry enable man to create plenty of riches. Therefore, the more industry develops, the more wealth is available. This is precisely what we mean when we say that industry constitutes the leading branch of the national economy. Industry comprises heavy industry and light industry. The former turns out means of production and the latter consumer goods. Like agriculture, light industry meets consumption; therefore, when we say that industry is the leading branch of the national economy we mainly refer to heavy industry. Thanks to industry, production develops and gives man ampler possibility to struggle against nature. His strength being limited, to struggle efficaciously against nature and produce wealth in abundance, there should be an additional force generated by machines, by heavy industry. In this respect it is crystal-clear that economy can develop powerfully so long as it disposes of a material basis, a heavy industry. Thus, industry forms the foundation of the national economy. For instance, in agriculture, ploughing and harrowing machines, etc. form the material basis to generate a stronger impact on nature than manual labour so as to produce wealth in great quantities and rapidly. A more highly developed production, large-scale production, requires a modern material basis, mechanized tools. We often say that we must advance towards a modern agriculture, a modern industry, and modern means of communication and transport. What

do we mean by all this? A new material and technical basis, without which there is no question of large-scale production.

In Viet Nam, we say that *agriculture is the basis for industrial development*. What does this mean? Agriculture is a branch producing means of living, we cannot go without it. It is not quite correct to say that we are going soon to have an economy based on socialist industrialization; we should rather say that we shall have an economy endowed with a socialist industry and a socialist agriculture. We should not refer only to industry, which would be vague, for we cannot live on industry alone as we constantly need agriculture. Agriculture always aims at satisfying the most important of man's requirements. Even the Soviet Union which has a very developed industry cannot dispense with a developed agriculture. The Communist and Workers' Parties of all the socialist countries pay constant attention to agriculture. On this point, we differ from capitalism. The bourgeoisie relies on industry to exploit the people and get wealthy and make agriculture depend on it. Over the recent years, all socialist countries have drawn a far-reaching experience: due attention should be paid to agriculture. This is stark clear because we cannot help thinking of the food problem.

Now that agriculture accounts for the overwhelming part of our economy, how shall we proceed towards socialist industrialization? It is not correct to say that we must rely entirely on the socialist camp. We do need help from the socialist countries; however, we must mainly advance from our agrarian economy, bring

agriculture to collectivization, step up production and, on this basis, develop light industry, accumulate more fund than we do now to build up heavy industry which will constitute the foundation of our whole economy. In other words, we rely on agriculture and the seven million peasants to build up industry. Here lies the market for manufactured goods, the people's main purchasing power, the source of raw materials and many other things. On this basis, we redistribute our labour force and readjust fund accumulation for the building of our heavy industry. When we say that agriculture serves as the basis for the development of industry, we mean that agriculture provides indispensable means of living, and that we capitalize on it to build up industry step by step. Agriculture, however, does not form the foundation of our socialist economy; the latter must rely on heavy industry which, having the strongest impact on nature, constitutes the greatest source of wealth.

What then is the relation between industry and agriculture? Agriculture produces means of living indispensable for man whereas industry turns out consumer goods and means of production. To speak of industry is basically to speak of heavy industry. The production of heavy industry must constitute the foundation of a socialist economy. Thus industry and agriculture influence each other. In the present period agriculture has a strong impact on, and pushes forward, every branch of our national economy, including industry, but as the latter develops its influence on agriculture increases. Now this still partial influence will become ever more

powerful so that industry, agriculture and communications and transport may progress together. The importance of agriculture and industry varies at each stage, and each of them has its own historical position.

Thus, both industry and agriculture satisfy the people's material and cultural needs and must necessarily make continual progress. Without a powerful development of agriculture there can be no rice, no meat and life will not be possible, and without industry — particularly a developed heavy industry — we shall lead a miserable life. As man's productive forces are limited, production would be insignificant without mechanization. That is why after the basic completion of socialist transformation, due attention must be paid to the building of our material and technical basis, that is, we must carry out *socialist industrialization. This is the central task of the transitional period.* But in developing industry *we must never forget that agriculture is the basis for the development of industry.*

Without grasping the meaning of socialist industrialization we cannot see the most important problem: technical revolution, that is, the revolution to shift small production to large-scale production, the revolution in labour organization and instruments of production. Failing this, we cannot push ahead our economy. Clearly enough, our industry cannot advance without the development of agriculture. Without food we cannot live, let alone promote production. Agriculture must progress not only to supply enough food, but also to enable us to spare manpower for other branches. Light industry, for instance, requires manpower. But it also needs raw materials that we are not in a position to

supply in sufficient quantity, and have to import them. So long as we have nothing available for exchange with the fraternal socialist countries to meet its requirements, light industry cannot make headway. Furthermore, to promote industry, especially heavy industry, we must import equipment and for this, export agricultural products apart from a small quantity of ores, since ours is an agricultural country. When speaking of agriculture, we do not refer only to paddy but to all agricultural produce, including industrial crops, animal husbandry, etc. We must develop all these lines and not any one exclusively. The wealth produced is used first for the satisfaction of the people's needs and for exportation, and second — with the progress of light industry and agriculture — for the creation of an amount of means of production permitting us to redistribute the labour force in all branches of the national economy and to spare part of it for heavy industry. This enables us to promote the economy as a whole and particularly heavy industry whose development, in turn, impels that of agriculture and light industry. Our present light industry owes its progress to the help of the socialist countries. Such is the initial process but in future we should do otherwise if we want our economy to forge ahead powerfully.

However, the development of the productive forces not only depends on the reorganization of the labour force but chiefly on the means of production and technique. To have new productive forces we must rely on the development of heavy industry. Therefore, our central task is socialist industrialization, that is, to provide machines to the branches in which work is so

far done by hand, and to create bases to turn out mechanical instruments of production.

Such a standpoint regarding production shows us the necessity of making ever-increasing investments. What I mean here is the investment of labour force which produces material wealth, and not merely money. Such an investment is necessary to promote heavy industry, light industry and agriculture.

Thus, to carry out industrialization there is no other way than to accumulate fund. But accumulation does not exclude consumption. We produce with a definite aim, for consumption. The enthusiasm of the producer lies in the prospect of consumption. The worker produces to earn something with which to buy food and other consumer goods. It is the same with the peasant who tills the land. Production aims at serving consumption, and if consumer goods are acutely lacking, it loses its significance and the producer, his enthusiasm. Therefore, our neglect of improving the producer's livelihood will amount to missing our aim. However, if we consume all that we produce we shall not be in a position to develop production. That is why we have to spend a little less, enough for our upkeep, so as to accumulate fund and enlarge production to meet requirements of greater importance. Everybody understands that we want to ensure larger consumption in future. Any production which does not serve the improvement of the livelihood will lose its lofty meaning. Some comrades wonder why now we all speak of personal interests whereas in the Resistance War we sacrificed them. This is justified. Then, our sole concern was to save our motherland from aggression. But now that peace is

restored it would be a day-dream, an error, to gloss over the people's, the producer's material interests. This would amount to negating the objective of production and then how could things run smoothly? However, material interests include immediate and long-term ones. Failing to grasp this, we would deprive production of its *raison d'être*. Furthermore, the material and cultural life of the Vietnamese people having always been low, they must boost production for their own welfare and for the nation to progress. Any production that does not serve the material interests of the workers and the peasants, and does not care for their ever-increasing living standard, cannot develop. In our society, there are advanced people but it will take much time—some decades, a century or even more for all to be equally advanced people. There exist advanced, average and backward people — this being understood in a relative sense. Our *raison d'être* itself is not a vague ethical concept. Everybody has his own interests. One cannot speak of happiness without tackling such vital problems as food and clothing. How can one feel happy if one's living standard is continually decreasing? Improvement of the livelihood and fund accumulation should go together. Doubtless the producers will be encouraged if they realize that today their living standard is a little higher than yesterday, and that tomorrow, with more fund accumulated, they will be still better off. We must make our workers and peasants understand that without industrialization the danger of bad crops will remain a permanent one, but that, with good fertilizers and hydraulic works, we will certainly be able to combat natural calamities, do away

with famine for ever and secure a stable livelihood. This is very clear. Therefore, when speaking of division of labour we must always refer to the accumulation of the labour force. Lenin said that we must pay attention to the toilers' material interests. This is a hard-boiled truth.

All branches of our activities are responsible for the development of production. The cultural branch daily trains technical cadres who are the most precious "means of production" because they are men mastering technique. Poetry and prose should also aim at serving production. The army has not only to safeguard security, order and peace, but also to take part in production. Army-men must realize that, while fulfilling their duty to stand ready to fight and protect production if production does not develop and their living conditions do not improve, the workers and peasants will not feel dedicated to our regime which will thus lose its stability. We must do so that the labouring people are really attached to our regime, sacrifice even their lives for it, and resolutely struggle against those who lay hands on it. To this end, it is necessary to promote production. Army-men must avoid all that can exert a bad influence on production; they must adequately and rationally use the credit earmarked for military purposes, save money and avoid waste. Without an adequate production, there can exist no sound political and military bases. So our comrades in the army must also grasp our standpoint on production when using the money given by the State. A recent resolution of the General Military Council says that army-men have to supply by themselves with part of their means of

living such as vegetables, meat, etc. If everyone consumes a little less than he normally does, the resulted savings will raise an important capital; and if at the same time he produces a little more, a substantial contribution will be made for the creation of a material basis for our economy.

Another point in the production problem: we must be vigilant against the enemy's sabotage. Every day the enemy seeks ways and means to destroy our production. These are extremely complex activities, for the enemy undertakes them covertly and in many fields. The saboteurs can damage a wheel in one or another factory, something the imperialists have in mind every day. At present, the situation in some coal-mines, factories and other enterprises being still intricate, attention must be paid to bad elements. The enemy's present strategic task in sabotage activities is to undermine our production. We must work out and enforce strict regulations capable of helping us to prevent them. We must acquaint ourselves with production, find out where sabotage may occur and, on the other hand, keep close contact with the popular masses.

The last point is the fulfilment of the 1961 plan, which will pave the way for further headway. Without a good production industrialization cannot be achieved, which will affect our entire economy. It is precisely, therefore, in the field of production that we can best gauge the ability of our cadres, because it constitutes our most important task the accomplishment of which is decisive for the march forward of our revolution as a whole.

IV. ON INDUSTRIOUSNESS AND THRIFT IN NATIONAL CONSTRUCTION

Industriousness and thrift are not only virtues which should permeate our style of work, they constitute guiding principles for our economic development. Without industriousness and thrift there could be no accumulation which, alone, would enable us to achieve socialist industrialization. Industriousness implies better work with every passing day, and thrift, more rational expenditure, no waste. A few examples. As I see it, now that there exists the possibility of exporting peanut oil to get machines in exchange, it would be more advantageous for our socialist industrialization to abstain from pea-nut goodies for a certain period, though they are delicious. This is thrift. Instead of making oil out of the milk of Thanh Hoa coco-nuts, which would provide us more fund, we just use it as refreshment. This is waste. Things of this kind are many. Thrift, however, does not command us to abstain from some more meat. Why do we produce it? For our consumption. We need meat to preserve our health and better serve production. So, to be thrifty does not mean to curb our living standard, but to do what is rational and beneficial to us. However, this should not be carried out indiscriminately. To be industrious also requires thrift to save everything that can profitably be spared for the time being. Thus, we should economically consume what can be exchanged for the machines we need. Besides, we have to bring into full play our labour force. It is a waste not to

grow more mulberry-trees, rear more hens and pigs when means are available for such occupations. Now that co-operativization has been carried out in the countryside we must make a house-to-house visit to get acquainted with the condition of the peasants, and help them rationally use their labour force. In some localities they still drink pond water and do not want to dig wells to have clean water. We must make them realize that health is required to produce more commodities and that labour force must be better used to impel production.

Therefore, to be industrious is to work zealously, to be thrifty is to save labour force and all that can be saved, in order to accumulate more fund for economic development.

Some people say that light industry accumulates fund rapidly and that for this reason we must speed up its development. This is not quite correct a view; like other branches of production, light industry creates surplus goods and brings about quick returns which helps accumulate and concentrate fund more rapidly than heavy industry. However, in the last analysis, to achieve substantial accumulation the fundamental problem is rapidly to raise labour productivity in all branches of social production. Therefore, it is heavy industry, as the supplier of equipment to all branches of the national economy, which constitutes the largest source of accumulation. Formerly, thirty persons were needed to till six hectares a day, now we must find ways and means to raise labour productivity so that twenty persons or less can do the same work, while the remainder will be shifted to other

jobs. The content of industrialization is that of accumulation and only when everybody works with an ever-increasing productivity can we realize substantial accumulation.

Another problem: the rapid industrialization of North Viet Nam will create more favourable conditions to accelerate industrialization in the South*. If we have ample industrial potentialities and more machines and other means of production for agriculture, North Viet Nam will be able to advance more vigorously on the path of co-operativization. This, as we usually say, is one way of paying attention to South Viet Nam. If our living standard rises with every passing day, this will impress our Southern compatriots. To be industrious and thrift is not to rough it but to pave the way for a more stable livelihood, avoiding unnecessary expenditures. What we can save at present, however little, is intended to make us advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily towards larger consumption in future.

V. ADVANCING RAPIDLY, VIGOROUSLY AND STEADILY TOWARDS SOCIALISM

These are our ways and means to march towards socialism. They lie within the scope of the *laws governing society, that is, within things themselves*. Socialist revolution must advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily and this is its law. Only by grasping this law can we proceed smoothly. Formerly, we worked individually, now we work collectively, which enables us to

* After national reunification (*Publ.*).

achieve high and rapid concentration unseen under other regimes. Under capitalism, each capitalist works for his own profit, that is why though some sort of concentration exists, production remains in a state of dispersal. This is the first point. Second, now that 80 per cent of our gross output are still turned out by rudimentary tools, production in any branch will increase rapidly if it will be done by machines. The replacing of manual labour with mechanized one in a manufacture constitutes a leap in quantity and quality. There are two leaps: one from dispersal to concentration, the other from manual labour to mechanization. Failing to understand them we cannot realize our economic requirements, and as a result we shall be driven into passivity, bound to check the rate of development of production and incapable of arousing enthusiasm among the entire people. The shift from manual labour to mechanization, from dispersal to concentration as much as the revolutionary mettle of the newly liberated man, and the ardour generated by his conscience of being the master of the society, contribute to make our advance more rapid and more vigorous. Even then, disharmony may occur in production. Anyhow our advance, unlike that of capitalism, must be steady, that is harmonious. Agriculture must be in harmony with industry, otherwise we shall not have enough, say, sugar-cane for our sugar-plants, tobacco for our cigarette-mills, food for our factory workers, etc. At present, co-operativization has been basically achieved, but industry has not yet supplied agriculture with new implements, etc. Clearly, there is discrepancy between agriculture and industry. Therefore,

we must advance more rapidly, so that food may be guaranteed to industrial workers, and industry, in turn, may vouch for the swift development of agriculture. But our cadres are not yet equal to their task owing to their low cultural level, and their lack of organizational and leading capabilities. In other words, in this respect we do not yet keep pace with the development of modern economy. We must consequently maintain harmony in order to ensure a smooth development at all costs.

Advancing rapidly, vigorously and steadily considered by our Party as a guiding principle, is an objective requirement; it does not spring from any arbitrary decision of our Party. Things themselves have such a tread of development and it is natural that we regard it as a guiding principle in economic construction. Socialist economy has two important characteristics: high tempo and harmony. The planning committee and all the branches of industry must grasp these two characteristics, and the leadership at all levels bear them in mind. Sometimes things progress rapidly but personally we are not willing to do so. Owing to our habits and style of work inherent in small production based on manual labour, we do not see that there actually exist favourable conditions for a rapid advance, and consequently we dare not think of it, or—if at all—give it little thought. This gives birth to conservatism and hesitancy. We lack broad views on a large-scale mechanized industry for the whole country. We carried out the three-year economic plan with, sometimes, a certain measure of hesitancy because we did not thoroughly

grasp an objective requirement, namely that the masses wanted to make headway in order to improve their living standard. It is true that the Party leads our revolutionary movement but the masses, too, push it forward vigorously. However, there are conservative and wavering elements among the masses. Recently, the elaboration of the five-year-plan for the building of the material bases of our economy has aroused general confidence and enthusiasm, but after one crop failure some people already thought of revising the plan. We must foresee the eventuality of heavier crop failures while engaging in industrialization at a rapid *tempo*. As we had not realized this eventuality, we wavered and dared not boldly build up that material basis. That is wrong. The problem now is to impel industry and simultaneously pay due attention to agriculture in order rapidly to develop our economy.

Above are the four standpoints to be inculcated during this ideological remoulding drive. They are linked with the objective law governing our economy. I have pointed out newly-shaped ideas to be promoted and those hindering the development of production to be overcome. When cultivating new ideas we have to fight hostile ones, including those of an individualist nature among the bourgeoisie and the small producers. The former are prone to exploitation, corruption and waste whereas the latter are self-complacent, reluctant to embark on large-scale production and to work collectively, thereby proving to be conservative and hesitant. Unlike the small producers and the feudals in this respect the capitalists seek reforms to increase

their exploitation. However, they still show conservatism by refusing to change their own mode of production. This general truth applies to the Vietnamese bourgeoisie, whose overwhelming majority made their fortune out of small production; progressive elements among them agree to, and support, the march forward, but backward ones are reluctant to take this path.

Therefore, criticism on this point should take into account the person or the enterprise—factory, State-farm, co-operative, etc.—we have to deal with. We must thoroughly know them and find out what hinders production. Only in the process of production can criticism be effectual, otherwise it will be superficial. We must carry out ideological work as the army men do after each engagement. Generalities of course must be put forward as a basis, but they do not suffice for the masses. Once we have an adequate conception of what is to be done, we shall base ourselves on it to examine our policies and to see whether our actions accord with it. Thus, we may realize that one or another policy worked out by certain economic branches have harmed production or hindered the people's sense of being masters of the society. Then, such policies and actions as well as their authors should be criticized. The Party Central Committee has not yet drawn any conclusion on this score. For instance, we have to import two million *dongs* worth of tobacco a year while we can produce enough for our consumption. Whose fault is this? The leadership in agriculture or in trade? Nobody knows for the time being. Anyhow, this is a mistake. Another example: we have not enough sugar-cane with which to supply our mills now in the

building. This, too, hampers the development of production. We must criticize all those shortcomings, find out their causes and arrive at a conclusion. In this ideological remoulding drive we must redress them. Later on, any obdurate attitude leading to similar shortcomings will be met with adequate measures.

Struggling against corruption and waste we oppose bourgeois ideology. This is a class struggle in the ideological field. During the transformation of the bourgeoisie we made efforts to help the entire people distinguish friends from foes. Now that this difference is clear to everyone, we enjoy favourable conditions to push forward the ideological remoulding in order to combat unsound thoughts prevailing among the people and within our Party. As the bourgeoisie in our country did not react vigorously we needed not have recourse to extreme measures. Over the past three years, its transformation has been undertaken very smoothly. For one thing, this is good; for another, this did not enable us to eliminate the ideology and vices of the bourgeoisie to an appreciable extent. With the enthusiasm of the entire people we can now eradicate them. This is a long-term work that we must do to forge ahead. While building new ideas we should do away with wrong ones. A sprouting seed grows stronger if we tend it carefully, but if at the same time we help it get rid of its shell it will grow still more quickly. The same can be said of other things whose development requires constant cares and the breaking of their "shells".

Lastly, single-mindedness must be furthered within our Party so that the revolution may progress more

firmly, vigorously. Our society has reached a stage at which the main mover of development is not contradiction between man and man, but unity of the people. Indeed, among the people there still exist contradictions, which must be solved so that unity may prevail. However, the main feature at present is single-mindedness and this is an important thing. Contradictions push society ahead, but unity also accelerates social progress. Therefore, our policy must always aim at building up and strengthening unity to impel the advance of our society. On this point, socialism and capitalism differ. Lenin said that social development is conditioned by unity among the producers. The greatest problem we have now to settle for socialist construction in North Vietnam to progress, is to solve the contradiction *between man and nature*, that is, to carry out socialist industrialization and technological revolution, for the satisfaction of the people's needs requires a vigorous advance of the productive forces. This does not mean underrating the relation between man and man and over-estimating the relation between man and nature. Our agricultural producers' co-operatives developing to the size of 200 households, would mark time were it not for a new material basis. If we want to take them farther we must give them new technical means instead of only tackling the relation of production, that is, the contradictions among co-op members themselves. Though unity in the co-operatives is necessary for the promotion of production, the main point is to set up a material basis for it, to introduce a new technique compatible with a large-scale production. This holds good not only for an agricultural

co-operative, but for our social production as a whole: The solution of the contradiction between the slow development of the productive forces and the people's ever-increasing needs will make society progress. So long as we make the toiling people completely single-minded we can satisfactorily solve this contradiction. Now unity is far from being perfect. We must constantly strengthen it. There lies the superiority of our society. That is why the policies worked out by all branches must aim at furthering this unity and guarantee the right to be masters to all the toiling people. Naturally, contradictions always exist, but the point is timely to settle them so that unity may be strengthened with every passing day. Failing this, new contradictions will arise from our own mistakes and not from objective realities. For example, the peasants must sell food and other agricultural products to the State. The latter in turn must supply them with goods at reasonable prices. Contradictions will crop up if goods are not available. There are backward peasants reluctant to sell paddy to the State. This contradiction must be solved. Sometimes we exaggerate trifles and create complications for ourselves. We should mind a point of considerable consequence to penetrate deeper into Vietnam's realities and strive to keep clear from dogmatism. We have to learn from the fraternal countries extensive and valuable experiences. The most important thing, however, is how to apply them in the specific conditions of our country; servile imitation and disregard of our own realities are very dangerous as they lead to untoward complications. When tackling socialist construction, Lenin, clever as though he was,

considered it a very difficult task, and that it had to be studied carefully and undertaken cautiously. As our Party lacks experience we must proceed still more cautiously and study more carefully. We must not mechanically apply what we have learnt from books, and strive to achieve socialist construction in accordance with our situation, avoiding unnecessary complications. We should, to this end, think over ways and means and display sound judgment so that what we do is right and sensible and satisfactorily meets the people's needs. We should guard against bureaucracy and commandism. As our workers and peasants can now realize their own interests and those of the collectivity, we must use persuasion to win them over, that is, to use criticism and self-criticism instead of administrative measures. For they sympathize with the Party and the State whose policies accord with their interests, and whose interests are one with their own. So, provided we display patience in our explanation the people will make common cause with us. Of course there still are backward people who do not sympathize with us, but they are not many. The bourgeoisie alone, who does not serve the people, uses violence to force them into obedience. As for us, we are advancing to socialism strong with the toiling people's revolutionary enthusiasm and approval, not with coercion. We must be vigilant and pay attention to the saboteurs who defame us, and to the reactionaries who can misuse the people. Though few they pose a great danger, and so we must repress them to further our unity. Ideological education should go hand in hand with repression of saboteurs and reactionaries.

WE MUST VIEW THE WOMEN'S QUESTION FROM A CLASS STANDPOINT *

I. THE POSITION OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AT PRESENT

Viet Nam being an agricultural country, the overwhelming majority of its women are peasants. Under French domination women constituted a dog-cheap source of manpower for the owners of mines and factories, which accounted for the great number of women workers. Further, ours was a feudal country, where, as a rule, women were subjected to the direct heaviest oppression and exploitation. These are the characteristic features of Vietnamese women in the past. This also explains why our revolutionary movement counted in its ranks many outstanding women fighters. The Resistance War, the land reform drives and the period of peaceful reconstruction have all underscored the important role of women. I have

* Talk at a national conference of women activists, February 1959.

no intention to dwell upon their capabilities and achievements which are well known to you.

What I wish to deal with are some questions relating to women's activities. I presume that all the delegates have studied the Resolution of the 14th Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee. You are all aware that we are now embarking on the path of socialist revolution. This is a most thorough revolution. It is even more deep-going than the national-democratic revolution we have gone through. Therefore, it must generate a nation-wide revolutionary movement. The same applies to the women's movement which must become part of this movement. The political task of the women's movement must be an integral part of the political task now facing the whole nation, i. e. we must rouse our women to active participation in the socialist revolution wherein they are to play a most important role.

Formerly, during the national-democratic revolution, the main thing was to take up arms against the enemy. To combat the aggressors for the sake of national salvation was then the common task of the entire Vietnamese people. In those days, women also joined the guerillas and gave battle to the enemy. But that was on a rather limited scale, because direct combat activities require great physical strength. And so, generally speaking, frontline fighting was the task of men. Our women made great contribution to the Resistance War mainly by increasing production, carrying supplies to the front or undertaking other activities in the rear.

But things are now quite different with the present socialist revolution, the purpose of which is to eradicate capitalism, to free the productive forces, to raise labour productivity and effect the socialist transformation of all non-socialist components of the economy. Ours being mainly an agricultural economy, the main task of the drive for socialist transformation in the immediate future is to turn our backward agriculture into a co-operativized, and subsequently, mechanized and modern agriculture. Who are the labourers that directly carry out the socialist revolution in the countryside? They are the poor and middle peasants, half of whom are women. It may be said that our women peasants are shouldering a bigger work load than men. A great number of them have thus taken a direct part in the socialist revolution now unfolding in the countryside. Another drive is going on in factories, the drive for the improvement of industrial management. As masters of their factories, the workers — many of them are women — must take part in this drive. In this way, women workers also play a direct role in the socialist revolution. In urban centres, trade and handicraft are branches with a fairly large number of women. Therefore, our sisters also take an important part in the socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and trade and in the co-operativization of small trade and handicraft.

Thus, we clearly realize that women have an important position and a great role to play in the socialist revolution, just as they have actively participated in the revolutionary movement over the past decades. But what about the women's movement itself? As I

see it, not only now but also in the past, our women mainly take part in the general movement whereas their own women's movement remains rather weak and suffers many shortcomings. Therefore, what I wish to say today is that our women should not merely take part in the general movement but should also build up *a revolutionary movement of their own*.

As integral parts of the general revolutionary movement, there now are revolutionary movements of workers, peasants, youths, women, etc. The youths and armymen have had their own distinctive movements, though these are still beset with shortcomings. But the same cannot be said of the women's movement. That is perhaps the greatest shortcoming, and we must take a hard look at it.

II. AGITATION WORK AMONG WOMEN MUST BE FUNDAMENTALLY BASED ON OUR CLASS LINE

I have just heard your views on the women's movement in the context of the drive for co-operativization. I have the impression that you have not yet firmly grasped the line of agitation work among women. Why so? First of all, because you have had no clear idea as to the political task of the women's movement. Also because, in your discussions, you have divorced the women's movement from the context of the general movement. One should realize that, fundamentally, the women's movement is none other than a class struggle. The socialist revolution aims at abolishing all

forms of economic exploitation and at building up a socialist economy free from the exploitation of man by man. That is a class struggle, a struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths. All labouring people, women included, must take part in this revolutionary struggle. Therefore, if the women's movement is to make a major contribution to the revolutionary movement as a whole, it is essential that our labouring sisters should be deeply roused to class consciousness. Without a profound class standpoint, women are not able to fully participate in the general movement.

During the period of transition from capitalism to socialism there still remain certain survivals of some thousand years of feudal and capitalist domination. There still are serious instances of oppression of, and unequal treatment towards, women. Therefore, if we want to give a vigorous impetus to the women's movement, all our labouring women must be made to realize that the oppression of women has its class origins. The deeper their class consciousness, the more profound will be their awareness of their interests. And so, *without a class standpoint, it is impossible to build up a distinctive women's movement*.

Generally speaking, whatever handicaps and disadvantages women have still to suffer under socialism, whether in the family circles or in social life, they constitute only remnants of the defunct feudal and capitalist regimes. That is not specifically a problem between men and women, but a matter of class oppression, feudal or capitalist, towards women. If there are specific conflicts between men and women, which are rare, they usually derive from the influence of feudal

and bourgeois ideologies. Handicaps and disadvantages suffered by women have essentially a class content. From your reports, it seems to me that this point has not been clearly realized. There is no adequate understanding of this point not only among women comrades, but among male Party members as well. The deeper the class consciousness of Party Committees and male Party members, the more attention they will pay to the women's question. To pay little attention to the women's question is tantamount to neglecting the most numerous and the most oppressed section of the labouring people, and thus bespeaks an inadequate class stand. *Therefore, the women's question is basically a classe issue.*

For instance, we go to the countryside to explain to women peasants the advisability of joining farming co-operatives. If we do not realize that this is a movement designed to draw women into a class struggle between the two paths of development, a class struggle for the emancipation of labouring women, and instead only view this drive in connection with the unequalities and disadvantages suffered by women in general, then such an understanding is grossly inadequate. Another example: many male comrades still underrate the capabilities of women. This is due to the influence of feudal ideas. If these comrades have an adequate class stand, they would be able to better assess the capabilities of women. So long as one does not get rid of the oppressing and exploiting classes' conceptions, one inevitably fails to fully appreciate the real value of the labouring women. *So to approach the women's*

question in a penetrating manner, it is essential to start from the position of the working class.

In addition to a lack of clarity in the matter of class standpoint, there has also been a certain tendency to confuse the movement for the emancipation of women in general and the specific women's movement led by our Party. The movement for women's emancipation came into being long ago. Such movement also existed under capitalism. These were guided by the bourgeoisie with a view to emancipating not the women masses as a whole but only a minority belonging to the upper strata. For us, the problem is in essence to emancipate the masses of labouring women, and to put into effect the slogan of "equality of rights between men and women" on the basis of the women's really conscious demand to take part in wielding political power and running the State apparatus, and thus become real masters of the country.

When women have not yet become cadres, have not yet acquired the standpoint of the working class, nor reached political maturity, they are usually inclined towards sacrificing their own interests and feelings in favour of their husbands and children. Well, I may not be right in assessing so, but as I see it, our women cadres, being mainly of petty-bourgeois origin, are still, in spite of their revolutionary activities, generally under the influence of petty-bourgeois ideas, both in their thinking and style of work. That is why they have failed to approach the women's question as essentially a question of class struggle. Now that we have entered the stage of socialist revolution, a stage of open class struggle, the problem is no longer one of

emancipating women in general, but of emancipating the most oppressed and the most exploited strata of labouring women.

There has been a time when we tackled the question in this way. That was during the land reform when we aroused the peasants to struggle against the landlords. That struggle did improve our class standpoint. But even then we were standing on the position of the working class. During the land reform drive, we did arouse the women peasants and educate them in class struggle, but in certain cases individual interests were over-emphasized to the detriment of class education. As a result, after land reform, there were jealousies over individual interests among women peasants in a number of places. Another manifestation of the low level of class consciousness of our women is their lack of unity and solidarity which is found not only at the grass-root level but also among leading cadres. Yes, there is pretty little unity and solidarity among our women cadres. Why so? Because women cadres have not yet acquired a sound class standpoint. Also because their minds are still weighed down by petty-bourgeois thinking and individualism. This has its definite social origin, too. Under feudalism, women were quite secluded from one another, whereas men, to some extent, had some common activities and laboured together. For ages, women have worked singly, each in her own home. And so the emergence of a women's movement requires a great revolutionary change in the thinking of women. We should help Vietnamese women acquire a common class standpoint, have a liking for joint labour and other activities, and

care more for the common good. Otherwise this individualistic way of life would form a great obstacle to the women's movement.

I do not suggest that all that pertains to the individual and the family must be discarded. I only mean that we should do away with individualism. We are now embarking on the co-operativization movement, the drive for the improvement of industrial management, in short, a deep-going socialist revolution. These revolutionary movements require that our women stand on the position of the working class. With the restoration of peace, our cadres are provided with a differentiated scale of wages and salaries which was unknown in the Resistance War. That is a necessity arising from the new situation and in application of the socialist principle of distribution according to the work done. Yet, objectively, this arrangement gives rise to a ticklish situation: people of a certain rank get a certain category of houses and salaries while people of other ranks get different kinds of houses and salaries. This has somewhat dimmed out our class consciousness which ought to have been further strengthened in the process of the socialist revolution.

This general situation also finds reflection in the women's movement. Proletarian thinking which ought to have been further strengthened has in fact weakened. Over the past few years, women in both urban and rural areas, have become part of the working class forces, but a distinctive women's movement has yet to emerge. You have written books and newspaper articles about husbands, wives and other subjects. One

finds in these writings a great deal of thoughts and feelings. Yet, have these writings helped arouse the thinking of women and give them a deep class consciousness? Yes, but not much. Because the line of agitation work among women is not correct.

What, then, is the correct line? That is the Party's class line dealing with the women's movement. It requires that we go to women workers in the factories, to women peasants in the countryside, to labouring women in the various urban districts, so as to find out the situation and work out a correct and judicious approach to the problem.

III. SPECIFIC PROBLEMS

The women's question is a class issue. Besides, there still are other problems specific to women. So far, women have been the most oppressed people, not only in terms of class relations, but also in terms of old customs and moral standards. Therefore, in our agitation work, we should deal not only with the class interests, viz. Oppression, exploitation and hardship common to all labouring strata, but also with the specific aspects of oppression towards women. As an example, we may cite "the three allegiances and four virtues"*. That is the cursed chain which shackled

* Allegiance to the husband, father and eldest son; the four virtues: fine homework, demeanour, speech and behaviour.

down women in the feudal society. That is a specific aspect of oppression towards women, a feudal and paternalistic pattern of domination and oppression. Therefore, it is a class issue. Our class standpoint would remain inadequate so long as we fail to help women liberate themselves from the shackles of obsolete feudal ethics. Hence, while arousing women to class consciousness we must dwell at length on these specific forms of tyranny which in substance, are also a matter of class oppression.

Women cadres will not be able to rouse the women masses if in their endeavour to promote the common good they neglect the specific interests of women. We must struggle against the unjust, irrational and immoral treatment of women by the past regimes. How properly will these problems be solved would depend on the manner in which women are to be aroused. The question is fairly complex: the contradiction which is of an internal character, does, however, involve the confrontation of two hostile ideologies. Underestimating women, holding them in contempt and oppression, are the conception of the enemies of the working class. But today, they are thus treated by none other than the fathers and husbands of our women, their dear ones. The question is not simple, because women set great store by filial and conjugal ties of affection. They do not want to hurt these feelings. However, to maintain these feudal ties would amount to preserving a ruthless and odious pattern of social relationship. For instance, a father compels his daughter to abandon her lover and marry another person. To disregard the father's order is considered as a breach of filial piety,

but to obey him would mean infidelity and thus to reconcile fidelity in love with filial piety, the girl has no other way out than to commit suicide. Feudal family relationship sometimes leads to such a heart-breaking situation. We must set things right. If it is a contradiction between women workers and the bourgeoisie, or between women peasants and the landlords, then the solution will be easier. Now, this struggle between the new and the old operates both in the society and inside each family. Without a correct way to deal with it, not only will the women's movement meet with increased difficulties but even those engaged in the struggle would waver and hesitate. Therefore, we must work out correct methods and act cautiously in settling this contradiction.

Thus, my point of view is : a women's revolutionary movement should go hand in hand with a revolution among women themselves. We must ponder over and sum up experiences regarding the contents and forms of the revolution for the emancipation of women. We must come to an accurate assessment of the contradictions to be solved by the women's movement. We must further *enhance their revolutionary ardour*. That is indeed the basic question at the moment.

Our women have a long record of revolutionary activities. But their revolutionary feelings are now less than adequate, and lack effervescence and vigour. We must arouse their spirit, infuse in their minds effervescence, vigour and a determination to stand up and break their shackles. Without revolutionary ardour and buoyancy in spirit and feelings, there can be no upsurge of the women's movement. Who then must be

animated by a buoyant revolutionary spirit? In the first place, the "general staff" of the women's movement — the executive committees of the Women's Union at the central, provincial district and village levels. This "general staff" must be a revolutionary one if a revolutionary movement is to emerge among the broad masses.

How is the life of women with large families and a low income in Hanoi? Are the city and district executive committees of the women's organization fully aware of their plight and to which extent relief and assistance have been given them? If they are not, then their revolutionary spirit is indeed far from adequate. In the past, our revolutionary militants had to risk jail sentences, ranging from ten, twenty years to life imprisonment in struggling for a two-cent increase of the workers' wages. Now that we have a State apparatus and many facilities, how is it that little attention is given to improving the living conditions of the masses? Because our revolutionary fervour is deficient.

What have we to do at present for our revolution? To accept sacrifices and selfless labour. Our cadres must overcome difficulties, bear hardships and work among the people with revolutionary zeal, thus only will it be possible to give further impetus to the revolutionary movement. It is no less necessary to enhance our revolutionary fervour than to define the contents of our revolutionary movement. Vietnamese women are endowed with a high sacrificing spirit. They usually care less for themselves than for others and prove to be exemplary indeed in their conjugal and maternal devotion. But this benevolence, which has so far been

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Our women have a long record of revolutionary activities. But their revolutionary feelings are now less than adequate, and lack effervescence and vigour. We must arouse their spirit, infuse in their minds effervescence, vigour and a determination to stand up and break their shackles. Without revolutionary ardour and buoyancy in spirit and feelings, there can be no upsurge of the women's movement. Who then must be

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confined to the family circles, should now embrace the whole society. In other words, our women should readily make sacrifices for the revolutionary cause in the same way as they have done for their families. They must care for the masses as much as they do for their families. Only so can our women cadres give a strong impulse to their movement.

VI. IDEOLOGICAL APPROACH AND METHODS OF WORK

It is clear from the above that many difficulties should be overcome if the women's movement is to surge forward. Our Party must make further study of, and give more thought to, these problems so as to provide leadership to the women's movement. But concrete matters must be tackled by the Party's specialized agency, i.e., the Women's Union. Guidance and decision-making are the responsibility of Party committees at various levels, but studies and initial proposals must emanate from the Women's Union. Otherwise, it will not help the Party leadership. As you know, the Party leads the people through its Party members, groups and mass organizations. Some comrades argue that the women's movement has made little headway just because scant attention is being given it by Party committees at various levels. True, many Party committees have not paid adequate attention to this matter. But *the main initiative and efforts should come from women themselves*. Can our women prove equal

to the task? I am sure they can because they are intelligent and capable. During the Resistance War, a woman fighter could kill some enemy soldiers. In production work, our women have also displayed considerable initiative in raising output. With such assets as creativeness, a rich fund of dynamism, and a high spirit of sacrifice, our women can, by their own efforts, give a strong impulse to the women's movement. If so far the record has not been up to the mark, that is because of certain deficiencies in the outlook of our women cadres and their placing excessive reliance on the Party committees at various levels. The Party leads their movement but women should not passively depend on it. If they do not take the initiative in looking after their own movement, then, one must say, they are still suffering from inferiority complex. This is the same with the youth. I attended a recent meeting of the Labour Youth cadres and there also, the biggest complaint was that little attention was paid to the youth problem by the local Party committees. True, certain Party committees have failed in their duty and should mend their ways, but the youth and women must see to their own movement. That is why I feel it necessary to deal with the methods of work as well. The first question is to strengthen the women's executive committees at various levels. To this effect, two following steps should be taken:

a) *Unity* among members of the executive committees of the Women's Union at various levels is a prerequisite to good leadership. Unity ensures creativeness and a correct understanding of the women's movement. Obviously, if each and every executive member holds

a different view, leadership would be practically impossible. In the initial period, differences of views are natural and inevitable, but eventually there must be unity. In day-to-day life, there are certain trifles which may hinder unity. But if we let these trifles interfere with our political work, then this may adversely affect our unity in thinking and eventually harm the women's movement itself. Therefore, we must do away with these minor misunderstandings between individuals and forge closer unity in view of the Party's interests. Once we base our behaviour on our common class stand and on comradeship, there can be no insoluble contradictions between individuals. What are the feelings worthy of a revolutionary militant? At least, he or she must feel affection for his or her comrades. Otherwise, he or she would feel affection for nobody. In addition to conjugal and maternal love, there also must be comradesly affection. If one holds one's comrades in affection, then surely all misunderstandings and differences can be solved. Now, do you feel affection for your comrades? This is a very simple question. Yet, if the answer is "no", then you are no longer a revolutionary, and have indeed sinned against the revolutionary cause. Because devotion to the revolutionary cause presupposes a rich fund of humanism, and love for the labouring masses. It is therefore most unreasonable for comrades living close to one another and working shoulder to shoulder for a common cause to harbour dislike and misgivings for one another. Only unity and affection would enable us to jointly further the cause of the revolution.

b) Secondly, the leadership must be close to the masses, and to this end, it must *have hard core activists*

at the grass-root level. Hard-core activists are the link between Party committees and the masses. During the land-reform drive we had learned to select and use hard-core activists. But later on, the practice was neglected. The time has now come to revive it. Effective leadership of the women's movement could be achieved only if the executive committees at various levels carry out their work through a network of hard-core activists. Unless we educate our activists at the grass-root level, we cannot secure a deep understanding of the situation of the masses. We must make effective use of the hard-core activists in order to develop contacts with the masses and arouse their spirit. At present, the women's movement is not developing at an equal pace in various parts of the country. Therefore, we must make a deep study of the matter and find out a village with the most advanced movement to develop the latter and then spread the experience to other areas. We all know this method of work, but have not yet put it into application. However, to give a strong impulse to the entire women's movement, we must, in the application of this method, proceed slowly, progressively in accordance with a detailed and exhaustive plan. For instance, our women cadres in Hanoi must acquaint themselves with each and every family in a given district of the capital, and in this way come to get a good grasp of the situation in each and every district. To succeed, this work may require three months, five months or even one year of efforts. It would be advisable for the Central Executive Committee of the Women's Union to specifically assure direct leadership of the women's movement in some

provinces, say, Hanoi, Hadong. There is no reason why the Central Executive Committee whose head office is in Hanoi, should not have a direct hand in the women's movement of the capital. Besides, activities of the women's movement in Hanoi are pretty multifarious: work in the factories, in the city's districts and suburban areas. Women working in various branches and services are also facing many problems. The Central Executive Committee of the Women's Union would do well to include a woman factory worker and a woman peasant to get its leadership closer to the real situation. I presume you have already given thought to this point. I think this is a correct step to be taken, because to make a more accurate assessment of a mass movement requires that we have activists working on the field and strive to get a good grasp of the situation. Even if our line and policies are correct, we cannot acquaint ourselves thoroughly with the situation if our organizational work and methods of work prove to be deficient. Hence our women's movement should gradually do away with formalism. Forms are necessary, no doubt, but what is more necessary is to get down to the grass-root level to find out problems to be settled and give timely guidance.

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These views of mine may sound somewhat too severe. But we should be exacting towards ourselves, and clearly realize the weaknesses of our movement and take measures to overcome them so as to come forward and fulfil our task. I think Vietnamese women

are capable of great achievements. During the Resistance War, a woman, seeing that the wailing of her child might reveal to the enemy the hide-out of our troops, had drowned her child in order to save the fighters. To sacrifice maternal love for the fighters' sake is indeed a sublime act of which only great hearts are capable. I think that women are motivated by the finest patriotic feelings and that the great beauty of our nation is embodied, first and foremost, in our women. When I was in jail, I had the opportunity to see that most of our cadres had excellent mothers. What does that mean? That precisely means that our mothers and sisters have the finest and noblest feelings.

Generally speaking, as our women are actuated by great thoughts and feelings, a great women's movement is bound to emerge in Viet Nam. But the content of these great thoughts and feelings must also evolve. In the past, they found expression in patriotism, in a staunch readiness to sacrifice one's conjugal and maternal love for the sake of national salvation. At present, in addition to patriotism, they should embrace love for labour, attachment to the cause of human emancipation and the abolition of class society. We must develop our women's great traditions with a new content, so as to build up the women's movement. The duty of our women is not merely to push forward the revolutionary movement but also to form new generations. With their great and heroic traditions, I am convinced that Vietnamese women will certainly succeed in bringing about a broad-based and powerful women's movement as part of the general revolutionary upsurge of our nation.

WE MUST HEIGHTEN THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF THE YOUTH AND LABOUR YOUTH UNION MEMBERS*

Comrades,

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I pay a visit to you and would like to expound my views on some questions. The Central Committee has been attentively following your Conference and is happy to know that you have achieved good successes. It asks me to convey to you its warm congratulations.

Now, I am going to deal with the following questions:

1. Continue heightening the revolutionary ardour of all the youth and Labour Youth Union members.
2. Firmly grasp the goal of struggle of the Labour Youth Union.
3. Clearly realize the role of the Labour Youth Union in the revolution.
4. Endeavour to strengthen the leadership of the Labour Youth Union executives at all levels, consolidate and enlarge the Union.

* Speech delivered at the North Viet Nam Labour Youth Union Cadres' Conference held from January 19 to 27, 1959.

I. CONTINUE HEIGHTENING THE REVOLUTIONARY ARDOUR OF ALL THE YOUTH AND LABOUR YOUTH UNION MEMBERS

Over the past four years since the restoration of peace, the Viet Nam Labour Youth Union, continuing the heroic tradition of the National Salvation Youth Union in the Resistance War, has recorded glorious achievements.

The youth movement in the countryside, factories, army, schools and public offices has made progress. In all the movements conducted by our people, the irrigation movement, the "clean villages and fertile rice-fields" movement, the socialist labour movement, the anti-illiteracy movement, and, in particular, the movement among army units to make rapid advance and overfulfil their plan, etc., the Labour Youth Union has proved worthy of its vanguard role. That is an honour for the Union, for all our youth, for our Party and people as a whole. *Our Party is very proud of its glorious Labour Youth Union.*

However, besides these many achievements, our youth movement still has many weak points and difficulties to overcome. In general, *it has not evenly and vigorously developed.* We must sum up our experiences in time, find out our shortcomings and their causes in order to redress them and push the movement forward.

There may be many reasons for such a situation. But I think the gist of the problem lies in the fact that a sizable number of youths and Union members lack

revolutionary spirit required by the present heavy revolutionary tasks. No one can rightly doubt that our youths are endowed with a very high revolutionary spirit. They have made heroic sacrifices during the Resistance War, displayed zeal in the land reform drive as well as in economic rehabilitation to heal the war wounds. But it must be noted that in face of the present revolutionary changes new objective conditions have emerged without a clear understanding of these changes, a section of our youth may fail to realize the object, content and requirements of the revolutionary tasks. As a result, their revolutionary spirit, which should have been further promoted, has somewhat downgraded.

In the Resistance War, our youths were aware that their immediate enemy was the colonialist aggressors and the feudal traitors. Sharing the sufferings that an enslaved people was bound to endure, our youths were moved with deep hatred for the enemy, and determined to engage in a life-and-death struggle. After the restoration of peace, our immediate enemies — the imperialists and feudalists — are no longer in sight, the former having been driven out of North Viet Nam and the latter, overthrown. We are staging a new revolution the object of which is to transform the age-old backward agricultural economy, turn a small and scattered production into a large-scale and modern one, so as to liberate and develop the productive forces, gradually improve our people's livelihood and lead them towards a new life. In such a revolution, inadequate understanding of the tasks to be fulfilled may well prevent a section of our youth from

seeing clearly their immediate enemy against whom they have to fight.

A revolutionary movement is unfolding in the countryside, which consists in grouping individual peasants into mutual-aid teams and co-operatives. This is in itself a revolution, which will change the age-old mode of production and way of life in the countryside, and destroy to its root the cause of exploitation and unending poverty of the peasants in order to build a new, happy life. Yet a section of our youth have not seen the context of this revolutionary change, bound as they are to the old ideology and the old practices in production. To them joining the co-operatives or not makes little difference for they will continue to plough the fields and plant seedlings as before, and as always their revenues will depend on the work done. There is nothing revolutionary in the co-operative movement, they reason, and remain lukewarm.

A similar situation is being witnessed among a number of young factory workers. They do not realize that the factories which formerly belonged to the imperialist employers have been returned to the people, that hired toilers, subject to exploitation, have become masters of their factories and are working for themselves. They do not see that their efforts no longer cater for the imperialist capitalists but, instead, raise the living standard of the labouring people, and boost national economy. It is precisely because they are not aware of the revolutionary changes in all that that a number of young workers are not really devoted to production, and do not endeavour to improve technique and the organization of labour.

The same can be observed at schools. A number of students and pupils, who have all along dreamt of becoming one day engineers and physicians to enjoy an easy-going life, feel disappointed now that they are told that they will be labourers in the service of the people. They are asking themselves: "What then has the revolution brought me? Isn't it lowering my position?" They do not realize that those who, toiling for the imperialists, receive wages higher than the ordinary working people's, merely served as slaves, well-paid slaves. The high wages paid them by the imperialists was nothing but a part of the money the latter had exacted from our workers, peasants and other labouring people. Today our students and pupils are applying themselves to study not to serve exploitation and oppression as before but to become part of the labour force of our people, now masters of the country. We all study to serve the fatherland and the people. Failing to understand such a glorious task in the present surging revolutionary movement of our entire people, those students and pupils feel as if their interests were impaired and do not display much enthusiasm.

In the past Resistance War, many of our youths accepted every sacrifice, endured all privations without a complaint. Not few were those who, as guides, spent long years in the jungles and living on grilled maize accomplished their mission, defying the worst dangers. But now, in peace conditions, even among those heroes, some have been worried by individualist considerations such as over wages, remunerations, positions. When we embark on socialist revolution their revolutionary spirit, which must be higher than in the previous stage,

is lower among not a few of them. Each of our young men and women must build for himself or herself a bright future, a lofty ideal. Anyone who fails to do so is not a progressive youth. This, however, does not mean carving out a position for oneself. Individual interests are small things, no lofty and sometimes bad things.

Should they become the objective of one's efforts, such an objective cannot transcend smallness and vulgarity. Why not to make the great cause of the people, of the nation, one's own cause? Only by embracing this great cause can the youth build a lofty ideal for itself and undertake glorious actions. Moreover, it is the activities of all the members of the society that ensure the existence of each. Therefore, the best way to show our gratitude to society is to work for all. "Each for all and all for each", that is our only correct attitude.

To be a peasant, a worker or a salesman at a State store is not without a prospect for a bright future. In fact, haven't such heroes or elite labourers as Trinh Xuan Bai, Le Minh Duc and Nguyen Tan Anh, set so brilliant examples of high revolutionary devotion to the people and the fatherland? Aren't they credited with splendid achievements?

In order to lead forward Labour Youth Union members and all our youth and to help them courageously accomplish the great cause of the people, it is necessary to continue heightening their revolutionary spirit. Failing this they could not fulfil their heavy but glorious tasks at this stage of the revolution.

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To be a revolutionary, two primordial conditions are required: to be animated by strong revolutionary feelings, and to have adequate knowledge of revolutionary science.

Of these two conditions, the first is the foremost because with strong revolutionary feelings, one will have enough determination to acquire one's revolutionary knowledge.

At the start of our Resistance War, we had almost bare hands to cope with the aggressors. But later on, we succeeded in creating everything that might help us to defeat the enemy. The secret of the success lay in the revolutionary spirit of a whole collectivity and of each of us. It happened that in military campaigns a few fighters managed to destroy many machineguns, capture a dozen enemy soldiers and kill scores and even hundreds of them. Basically, this was made possible by revolutionary spirit.

With a high revolutionary spirit, there is no difficulty that cannot be surmounted and no enterprise that cannot be successfully undertaken. In any village, if the local youth organization is prompted by a high revolutionary spirit, the movement there will overcome all difficulties and forge ahead vigorously. With a high revolutionary spirit we can create the means we need because whatever means are created by man. Now the Labour Youth Union has 590,000 members. If all of them display adequate revolutionary spirit, the Union will constitute a tremendous force that can tide over every difficulty, however great it may be.

At present in the northern part of our country, we are carrying out the socialist revolution, and solving the question of who will win between the capitalist path and the socialist path. In this revolution, not only have we struggled to abolish exploitation of man by man and the old relations of production, but also to do away with erroneous conceptions, bad customs and habits left over by a production based on exploitation, a small and individual production, in order to free man from social prejudices and superstitions that have for so long a time contained his activity and creativeness. We are struggling not just to transform society but also to transform nature and make it cater for man's needs. This is a great, extremely profound revolution. Without a high revolutionary resolve, without a daring will, in face of the difficulties left over by the former regime or resulting from nature itself, our youth will not be able to do anything great.

To the youth, I think, nothing is more attractive than revolution. In our young days, whenever we talked with one another in groups of three or four about revolution, we felt elated as if we had been lent wings, and we wanted to bring all our main and might to move heaven and earth. Yet, today not few young men and women feel tired of attending conferences to discuss most important problems facing the nation. This is because they still lack revolutionary spirit and ardour in their daily activities. Now any work of the youth in the labour organization of our people has a revolutionary and profound significance as it contributes to the transformation of an age-old life beset

with sufferings into one of plenty and happiness tomorrow.

He who feels no enthusiasm for his work and daily occupations lacks revolutionary feelings. There are varied pleasures of which love is one of the most attractive for the youth. However, to progressive youth ardour for revolutionary work is much loftier than love. Many youths have sacrificed their love to take up a revolutionary job. Love meets the sentimental needs of two persons only whereas revolutionary ardour can satisfy the feelings of millions of people and mingles the feelings of individuals with the millions. There lies man's true and unbounded happiness.

Revolutionary feelings do not come by themselves, they are acquired in the process of revolutionary struggle. The lack of revolutionary feelings in anyone among us derives from his being insufficiently steeled in revolutionary struggle. Revolutionary feelings should be constantly fostered. On the other hand, as revolution is an uninterrupted process of development our feelings have also gone through an uninterrupted transformation. The life of President Ho Chi Minh, our cherished leader, is one lived through an uninterrupted revolution. All Union members and our youth in general must take it as a great and living example.

Revolution is an uninterrupted struggle between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces, between advanced thoughts which impel us forward and backward ones which tend to pull us back. Counter-revolutionary and backward forces are very obdurate. Sometimes they lie in ourselves and generate a struggle

between individualism and collectivism. Without a tempered revolutionary spirit, whenever difficulties crop up, backward individualistic thoughts in ourselves have the upper hand and hold us back. That is why revolution should be first and foremost ideological, and criticism and self-criticism, constantly carried out. This is a very difficult and arduous struggle. Without the heroic will of a communist, without the firm resolve of a revolutionary, we cannot win this battle. If we let individualism get the upper hand, we shall no longer be revolutionaries. So long as collectivism triumphs, we can continue our march forward.

However, having revolutionary feelings is not enough if we want to be a revolutionary. We must also possess revolutionary knowledge, the knowledge about revolution. In making revolution, we want to be masters of the society and nature, to command their course of development so that they serve man. Without the knowledge of laws governing revolution how can we lead it? That is why Lenin taught us, "Without a revolutionary theory there will be no revolutionary movement". Chairman Mao Tse-tung also spoke of keeping a warm and cool head at the same time, meaning that revolutionary ardour should be combined with scientific knowledge.

Revolutionary knowledge helps us to see clearly the goal of our struggle and the course we should take to attain it. If we have ardour and take a wrong way we may tumble and even cause big losses to the revolution.

Revolutionary knowledge also helps strengthen our revolutionary feelings. If we do not see clearly our

goal and consequently achieve no result in our revolutionary activities, our revolutionary feelings, far from heightening, may decline.

That is why our youth must not only strive to arm themselves with ardent revolutionary feelings, but also endeavour to acquire revolutionary knowledge, study Marxism-Leninism. Thus only can they become full-fledged revolutionaries.

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In short, the most important question for our youth at present is to foster their revolutionary spirit. It is my hope that the Labour Youth Union will regard ideological and educational work among the youth as the most important one in the period to come, and that it will do it more intensely among its members and the youth at large in order to raise their revolutionary ardour, and consequently to impel the youth movement forward.

I also hope that on their part, all young men and women in our country will do their best to foster their revolutionary feelings, heighten their revolutionary zeal and improve their revolutionary knowledge so as to be worthier of their vanguard role.

II. FIRMLY GRASP THE GOAL OF STRUGGLE OF THE LABOUR YOUTH UNION

In our revolutionary struggle we must clearly define our goal, otherwise we shall go astray.

What is the ultimate revolutionary goal of the Labour Youth Union? It is to build communism in Viet Nam as well as in the world. This is also our Party's ultimate goal. Nowadays, communism is no longer a far-off ideal, it has become a practical problem. The Soviet people are enthusiastically engaged in emulation to fulfil and overfulfil the Seven-Year Plan (1959—1965) with a view to building the material and technical basis of communism on a scale unprecedented in history. Although socialist revolution in the North has only begun I think I may say with conviction that you, the present young generation, will be the builders of communism in our country. It is necessary to make our Union members and the youth at large understand this great and glorious task so that they bend all their moral, mental and physical strength on the realization of this goal.

On our way towards that ultimate goal, we must concretely define our immediate objective in each given sphere for each given period. At present, the immediate revolutionary objective of our Party and people throughout the country is to push forward socialist revolution, build socialism step by step in the North, and struggle to liberate the South with a view to national reunification. That is also the immediate objective of our youth. Of late there has emerged among the youth a revolutionary movement to engage in socialist transformation and construction. That is a very good thing. But a section of our youth has not yet a clear understanding of the task set for our struggle for national reunification.

We must realize that owing to the considerable growth of our forces through the August Revolution and our extremely heroic nine-year Resistance War, we have been able to drive out the imperialists and completely liberated the North. We must also see that in spite of this, we are not strong enough to emancipate the whole of our country and, as a result, the South still remains in the hands of the American imperialists and their henchmen. To liberate the South and reunify our fatherland, we must substantially strengthen our forces in all fields. By building and consolidating the North we are creating conditions for an early reunification. In their work and study the youth must be conscious of the great glory of our nation and, on the other hand, always bear in mind the humiliation and pain of having half of their fatherland under enemy occupation. This should be a motive force capable of enhancing our revolutionary feelings and redoubling our energies now that we have to endure hardships and overcome multiple difficulties in building and consolidating the North into the basis for our struggle for national reunification.

The recent 14th Plenum of the Party Central Committee has laid down for the three forthcoming years the tasks facing our country as a whole and each branch in particular—industry, agriculture, culture, education, public health etc. The Plenum's resolution is the concrete program of action of our entire Party and people for the said period. The Labour Youth Union has the responsibility to march in the van to implement it. The Union organization of each village, factory, school, public office and army unit, etc. should,

on the basis of the tasks laid down by the plan, define its concrete objectives. For instance, it should see what the youth for which it is responsible can achieve to contribute to the realization of the plan concerning production, the improvement of the people's living conditions, the raising of their political, cultural and professional standards, etc. As for each Union member, he or she should determine the goal of his or her struggle in the period covered by the plan.

Failures and successes are registered in the process of any revolution. But the ultimate failure of the revolution must be avoided and its final success, ensured. For this reason, we must carefully weigh the pros and the cons when setting our goal of struggle to make it suit the requirements of the task of the whole Party and the capabilities of the youth in each locality and army unit. Unless the goal of each Union organization and Union member is set by themselves, it cannot be adequate and attainable. And once this goal has been defined they must realize it at all costs.

III. CLEARLY REALIZE THE ROLE OF THE LABOUR YOUTH UNION IN THE REVOLUTION

Under the Party's leadership, the youth must form the vanguard force in the revolutionary movement of the masses. A vanguard force from the point of view of ideological and revolutionary consciousness and combativity. If its ideological and revolutionary

consciousness is lower than that of the other strata of the people it cannot assume its vanguard role. That is why, we must attach paramount importance to raising socialist consciousness among the youth.

Generally speaking, young men and women are full of ardour, capable of daring thinking and undertaking. As socialist revolution destroys the old to build the new, they are able to take the lead in this revolution.

In order to assume this vanguard role, our youth must possess not only high socialist consciousness but also adequate organizational abilities and self-imposed discipline in study and daily work.

Along with the old social structure, socialist revolution changes the outdated mode of production organized in dispersal and turns it into a scientifically organized one in accordance with the requirement of modern industry.

Without adequate organizational abilities and adequate discipline the youth cannot break the age-old and narrow organization, which has for generations tied up our people, to build a more scientific, rational organization. Therefore, inculcating in it the sense of organization and discipline is also a big problem.

In addition, in order to assume its vanguard role, it is indispensable for the youth to enjoy good physical conditions. We must train it into a generation of strong men and women capable, as people usually say of "moving mountain and filling up river", capable of undertaking difficult and big enterprises which are beyond the reach of others. The nine years of the Resistance War have proved that our youth is worthy of

its vanguard role. For a man, the highest sacrifice is that of his life. Our youth have sacrificed everything, even their lives for the survival of the nation. With such a glorious tradition, it will surely overcome all difficulties and hardships and devote their all to the cause of socialist construction and national reunification. The vanguard character of the youth is not brought about by birth, it must be built up through a long process of struggle; it requires unceasing efforts in study and training from the Union Central Committee member down to the rank-and-file member and non-member youth.

While assuming its vanguard role the Labour Youth Union remains a mass organization. The tasks set forth by the revolution are to be accomplished by all the youth, not by the Union alone. Among them, there are vanguard, "middle-of-the-road" and backward elements. Union members must get in closer touch with all of them to lead forward the backward elements. By so doing we broaden the movement and help all the youth make progress. If Union members alone advance while the broad masses of the youth lag behind, they will fail to play their vanguard role. Thus, to play its vanguard role the Union must firmly grasp the mass line, get in close touch with the masses of the youth, be aware of their interests and aspirations, and educate them. At present, in the Northern part of our country, there are differing categories of youth: those in the former liberated zones and occupied zones, those in the mountain and religious areas, the rural and urban youth, etc. That is a very intricate situation. So far we have not paid due attention to

investigating into the aspirations of each of these categories so as to adopt more suitable forms of education. As a result, we have not been able to initiate a really vigorous and broad movement, which has to some extent diminished the vanguard role of the youth. This shortcoming must be remedied in time.

IV. ENDEAVOUR TO STRENGTHEN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE LABOUR YOUTH UNION EXECUTIVES AT ALL LEVELS, CONSOLIDATE AND ENLARGE THE UNION

Beside substantial achievements and progress, the activities of the Labour Youth Union, from the central, provincial, district to the grass-root levels are meeting with many difficulties. The Party Central Committee will help the Union overcome these difficulties. But it is important that the Union does its best to solve them by itself. As I see it, the fundamental difficulty at present lies not in the lack of objective conditions for the youth's activities but in the fact that the revolutionary spirit of the Union members and the youth as a whole is not equal to their task; their revolutionary knowledge is still poor, and they have not clearly realized their goal of struggle as well as their position in the revolution. These are basic questions to be settled first.

Now I am dealing with the organizational problem. The Labour Youth Union is the right hand of the

Party, the mass organization closest to the Party. Under the latter's direct leadership it has to mobilize, organize and educate all our youth to bring revolution to a successful end. It must rely on the Party's line to carry out its activities independently and properly. Unless it is built into a solid organization the Union cannot effectively serve as the right hand of the Party and be in a position to fulfil the tasks it is entrusted by the Party.

The revolutionary movement of the youth is a mass movement in villages, factories, public offices, schools, army units, etc. Leading the youth in those places is first of all the grass-root organization of the Union — the Union branches. It is important first and foremost to consolidate the Union branch into a worthy representative of the Union Central Committee and to make it the interpreter of the will and aspiration of the youth in the area or army unit concerned. We must see to it that the Union branch is capable of ensuring the implementation of the Union Central Committee's line and policies and, at the same time, solving the urgent problems facing the youth. In so doing it has to base itself on the specific conditions prevailing in the area or army unit concerned. In this way we can achieve close co-ordination between the leadership and the masses of the youth. The aim pursued in struggle and in organizational work is to make the Union branch capable of independent activities. This is one of the key problems for the leadership.

Well, can Union organizations at the grass-root level be strengthened along this line? I know that many of them have achieved this. Those still lagging behind

should strive to accomplish this task at any rate, within three, five or ten months. Those branches which have succeeded in so doing should be cited and pass on to others their experiences.

Provincial and district organizations of the Union must help consolidate Union branches. They must closely follow the activities of each branch and sub-branch, dispose of maps with differing markings to distinguish, in this respect, good localities from average and bad ones, and work out concrete plans to strengthen Union branches in the course of each drive of activities. For instance, they have to decide how many Union branches are to be consolidated and how many more in the next. If we can do this, the youth organization will certainly grow much stronger.

As regards the leadership of the Union Central Committee, I think the most important thing is to follow the youth movement closely, to base itself on it so as to find out in time the creative experiences of the masses, sum up, popularize and develop these experiences and, thereby, impel the youth movement forward.

The Union's journal *Tien Phong* (Vanguard) must be used as an effectual instrument for leadership. It must be made more representative of the youth movement, and timely bring to the fore the youth's creative experiences and urgent problems. All areas and army units must promote the cadres' and Union members' responsibility towards the journal, encourage them to read it, write for it, organize its distribution, and turn it into the militant tool, the organizer, the leader and teacher of all the youth.

What is the position of the Union in relation to the Party?

The Labour Youth Union is an organization of young Communists. The Party differs from the Union but there are also similarities between them. The ideal of the Party is also the ideal of the Union and the Party' and the Union's line and tasks are one and the same. The Union is the heir to the glorious cause of the Party, the reserve force to replenish its ranks, its young shoots.

The Union will go ahead as far as the Party progresses and inversely. That is why the Party pays great attention to the Union's work, and to making the relations between the Party and the Union closer with every passing day. In the meetings of its primary branches, the Party allows Union branch secretaries to attend so that they may later popularize its policies among all Union members.

However, in some places and in some periods, the care of the Party Committees at various levels for the Union's work remains inadequate. This shortcoming must be redressed.

Among Union members, many are worrying about their admission to the Party. To broaden its organization, the Party admits to its ranks those Union members who have proved worthy of it and fill the conditions required. The Party Central Committee has issued a directive in this connection but the implementation is still slow in many areas. This is a shortcoming; the Party Central Committee will see to its being remedied.

**THE MORE WE LOVE MAN,
THE BETTER WE LOVE OUR
PROFESSION ***

Dear comrades,

I am very glad to attend your social. I know that your College is credited with many achievements; all other colleges and the population in the neighbourhood, too, are aware of them. The Party Central Committee is very satisfied with your successes and warmly acclaims them.

I know little of your profession, but I think that teachers work like political cadres. Political activities consist firstly of propaganda and education among the people to awaken their revolutionary consciousness; teaching is propaganda and educational work among younger generations. We have this point in common and can talk with each other. That is why I would like to expound views on this matter.

* Speech delivered at the Festival of the Hanoi Teachers' College on June 29, 1962.

**I. OUR PEOPLE HIGHLY VALUE
HUMANITARIANISM AND KNOW
HOW TO BEHAVE AS MEN**

We all admit that the Vietnamese are eager for study. In former times, in town like in country, at the birth of an infant, its parents' two concerns were to give it sufficient food and some education so that "it might later know how to behave as a man". Naturally, to live one must eat, but that is not all. One must also know how to behave as a man. Therefore, our forefathers, however poor, did their utmost to send their children to school, not to make them mandarins, but to educate them how to live as men. It is perhaps due to the fact that they highly value humanitarianism and know how to live as men that the Vietnamese people have struggled successfully for their own existence and grown into an independent nation. Humanitarianism has largely contributed to the formation of the Vietnamese nation in the process of its formation and given it a powerful vitality which accounts for glorious pages in our history.

Since Marxism-Leninism has become an ideology which leads the world people, our Party has applied it to Viet Nam's conditions to bring the people's revolution to success. Why has our nation, a small and weak one, been able to achieve its revolution? This cannot be attributed superficially to the Party's leadership and Marxism-Leninism alone. Other colonial people also have their leading Parties, follow Marxism-Leninism and enjoy favourable conditions but have not

yet brought the revolution to a successful end. The Party's leadership and Marxism-Leninism are unquestionably required but we should clearly realize that Marxism-Leninism has penetrated deep into the Vietnamese people, that its revolutionary ideas and humanitarianism upheld by our people have blended into one, it has been instilled into the revolutionary tradition of our people to become a national force which enables our revolution to succeed more easily. In other words, it is because the Vietnamese nation has already been created and the Vietnamese people formed centuries ago, and have adopted Marxism-Leninism, that the August Revolution came out victorious, the great Resistance War could be conducted for nine years and the sacred struggle for national salvation can be put up now in the South of our country. Naturally, in the present epoch, the Vietnamese revolution must be at the same time a product of world revolution. Without favourable objective conditions afforded by the latter, it would meet with difficulties. Nevertheless, the victory of the revolution in any country cannot be the result of the exportation of the revolution from another country.

Our people are keen on study by tradition. To enslave us, the French imperialists sought ways and means to keep us in ignorance. However, they were unable to maintain their domination because they could not smash the Vietnamese people's indomitable spirit and vitality which stem from their millenary national traditions. The French colonialists regarded obscurantism as the most efficient weapon to subdue our country. After the triumph of the August Revolution, in view

of our national salvation and construction, our Party attached greatest importance to the liquidation of the disastrous consequences of this policy. To this end, President Ho Chi Minh set forth urgent tasks: opposing foreign invasion, checking famine and eradicating illiteracy. These fundamental tasks answered the requirements of the Vietnamese situation and in practice they were our three most powerful weapons to vanquish the enemy.

Teaching has always been considered an extremely important profession. When under foreign domination, our patriotic intellectuals would take to teaching, regarding it as the most honest profession. Under any political regime, the Vietnamese people have invariably maintained very close relations with the patriotic intelligentsia and the teachers as its best representatives. The masses have respect for them and look upon them as the pride of the nation. Patriotism and revolutionary spirit penetrated the masses through their patriotic intellectuals. We can be proud that since 1930, under the banner of the Party of the proletariat, the teachers have joined the ranks of revolutionary militants and a great many of them have been tried in criminal courts by the imperialists right in the first years of the revolution.

II. HOW URGENT CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION ARE!

In this period of socialist revolution, education plays an extremely important role. The Party Third National

Congress has formulated the general line for the North of our country to advance to socialism. Socialist revolution is a process including three revolutions: first, revolution in the relations of production to liquidate the exploitation of man by man; second, technological revolution, chiefly to develop the productive forces, turn small handicraft production into large socialist production, and transform our backward agricultural country into one with modern industry and agriculture; and third, ideological and cultural revolution to make Marxism-Leninism gain supremacy in our people's intellectual life, and endow our country with advanced culture and science. These three revolutions are closely interrelated. The ideological and cultural revolution hold an important position inasmuch as it helps achieve the technological revolution and consolidate and perfect the newly-established relations of production.

Our country is still poor, but we already have very sound relations of production: the exploitation of man by man and its source have been eliminated in the main. However, these new relations of production are still based on a small productive force and on manual labour; they can only be ensured on the background of a large socialist and modern production. The mutual co-operation in the socialist camp can help us build up the material and technological bases for socialism, but our greatest difficulty lies in the lack of cadres, skilled workers and technicians. Hence, to take the socialist revolution to success and tackle the technical revolution, we cannot but attach particular importance to the ideological and cultural revolution.

As you all know, now our machines operate with only 50 per cent of their capacity, and thus, because of our poor knowledge, we practically lose one half of our property. Owing to our people's cultural and technical level and the lack of qualified technicians, labour productivity in agriculture remains low. The same thing is being witnessed in the co-operativization movement. Our agricultural co-operatives do have the possibility of boosting production but the difficulty lies in management which is all the more inefficient as our cultural level is low.

Here, the lack of people with abilities in planning and book-keeping is general; the lack of business-like settlement of accounts in certain places gives rise to suspicion among co-op members. The foregoing deficiencies show how urgent the cultural revolution and education are, and that culture has become an important factor for the development of productive forces. Technique and cadres assume a decisive part in this development. They require knowledge of man, that is, of the toiling masses. Culture and knowledge will boost the productive forces. To have a large mechanized production there must be heavy industry. To increase — so to speak — the productive forces in the cultural field, there must be another “heavy industry” — teaching. This “heavy industry” must advance rapidly, powerfully and in the right direction.

After these considerations, I wonder why many among you still regard teaching as “a career without prospects”. Such a view is at variance with our national history and the cherished aspiration of our people,

and runs counter to the very fundamental requirement of the revolution at the present stage. You taught well in the past few years; if some of you do not yet feel quite at ease with teaching, it is perhaps because they have not fully realized the particularly important position of the educational branch.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that labour creates history. The great thinkers of yore could not discover this truth. History has never been the work of certain heroes, but that of the toiling people. Labour conceived in this way deserves being glorified. According to the law of social development, once the division of labour has taken shape, manual workers and brain workers, and this and that branch of activities, come into existence. Like any other profession, teaching brings its contribution to the birth and progress of society. We cannot conceive things otherwise or we would underestimate and prejudice man's value. You who are or will soon be teachers should all the more grasp this truth because therein lies man's dignity.

III. THE FUNCTION AND RESPONSIBILITY OF TEACHERS IS TO FORM NEW MEN

Teachers give knowledge to pupils, and meanwhile forge them into men. There is knowledge on nature and on society. All pupils must be made to grasp general knowledge firmly and fully. Knowledge is a tool to protect and develop the life of man, but the raising of

the standard of knowledge must go hand in hand with the forging of men. To this end, what is to be done first is to inculcate humanitarianism in them, because it is the ethics of life, of man. Some intellectuals have set out against the people because they lack humanitarianism and hence, patriotism and love for their fellow-countrymen.

When saying that labour is creative one just realizes this truth mentally, whereas it must be felt. Since long, many religions have dealt with humanitarianism. That there are the rich and the poor, that the nobles alone live in abundance, whereas the slaves lead a wretched life, it is asserted, is the will of God or Buddha. Such a viewpoint can by no means give rise to humanitarianism and if at all it cannot but be false. For if God or Buddha so disposed why should the toilers be respected and loved and labour glorified?

There cannot be humanitarianism so long as one does not clearly see the value of labour, profoundly realize that labour is creative and that without labour mankind cannot survive. True humanitarianism exists in so far as one grasps the significance of labour in man's life. Marxism-Leninism has dissipated religious, idealistic clouds over this subject and given back to man his own value, thanks to which love and friendship are restored among mankind and true humanitarianism develops and prevails.

I stress this point because by profession the teachers create what is most precious in man. Their task is in effect to cultivate the pupils' minds. You have to work upon men whose minds are pure, and whom

history and society will entrust with heavy and very glorious tasks in future. Therefore, to become good teachers you should understand man profoundly and more than anyone else understand the Vietnamese, their history and all their glorious national traditions. With thoughts and feelings of our epoch and our own national legacy as a basis, you will cultivate the knowledge and feelings of pupils in accordance with the new stage of history. To teach is to give children scientific knowledge and at the same time to forge them morally. The source of virtues and ethics lies in the love for man. During the Resistance War against the French colonialists, our troops and people did not ill-treat French prisoners of war. On the contrary, they shared their own scanty ration with them. This was due not only to the Party's lenient policy which had impregnated the army and people, but also to humanitarianism deep-rooted in our people. It would be very harmful if at school we give children a certain amount of knowledge without instilling in them love for man. Back home do they love their parents and brothers and sisters? In society do they love their friends, respect the old and love the young, esteem and respect the toiling people? After leaving school will they behave as men of dignity should do? This is a concern of their parents and also a problem that headmasters and teachers must think of and solve. What worries us all is that now ethics and virtues are not given due weight in our curricula. This shortcoming must be redressed.

Pedagogy is a very difficult and complex science because its goal is forming man. We know that nature has its own laws, so has society and man's feelings

and thinking. Teaching natural sciences, we can use theorems and formulas. In forming man, and cultivating his feelings, we cannot resort to formulas. Children may become good or bad. The task of the teachers is to foster their strong points and restrict their weak points.

Teachers must educate children in humanitarianism. This task they cannot fulfil if they themselves are not humanitarian. Therefore they give them not only formulas, sentences and words, but must also instil in them their own virtues. If they themselves have no revolutionary feelings, however conversant they are with Marxism-Leninism, they cannot satisfactorily accomplish their task. To inculcate humanitarianism in the pupils means to cultivate their patriotism and their love for socialism, for their countrymen and for labour, and foster their courage, honesty and proletarian internationalism. Feelings are not simply a physiological reaction but mainly a social product with a class content. They always bear a class stamp — love like hatred, joy like sorrow. Therefore, there is no patriotism, no love for labour, no courage and honesty independent of the ideology of a given class. Without the firm standpoint of the working class, the peasantry and toiling people, there can exist no humanitarianism. To form a new outlook on life, we have to mind both the mental and emotional aspects which are closely and harmoniously related to each other.

When we say that exploitation is bad and must be condemned, we just view the question in the light of reason. Only when we combine reason with our feelings

can we deeply understand the question and undertake revolutionary actions resolutely to fight exploitation. The liquidation of poverty and backwardness is a work, the greatness of which, some people, very likely, cannot realize. But when we profoundly sympathize with a mother who, unable to get enough food and clothing for her children, cannot but leave them to the mercy of cold and hunger, and when we consider this an unexampled suffering and shame for mankind, then only can we realize that the struggle for all mothers to have sufficient food and clothing for their children is a greatest endeavour. Therefore, we will never shun this fight, no matter how much sweat and blood we have to shed in order to do away with poverty and backwardness. If our soldiers who sacrifice themselves to save our country do heroic deeds, isn't the struggle to free mankind from poverty and suffering a heroic cause?

The function and responsibility of teachers is to form new men, and train children into a generation politically conscious and boundlessly loyal to their fatherland and the interests of their people, who will bring happiness to the people and to themselves. Teachers should fully and profoundly grasp general knowledge and at the same time, attach great importance to politics. Of course, politics is required in all branches, especially yours because you form new men, men with socialist consciousness. By the way, I think it necessary to impart to you the concern of President Ho Chi Minh and the Party Central Committee. Our educational branch has developed satisfactorily and scored many achievements. Generally speaking, you are good

teachers, but most of you are still too young. You have been given scientific knowledge but not much tempered in life and tested in revolutionary struggle. You are more or less inexperienced in life and do not yet fully realize how bitter the sufferings of our people are. In mentioning this, it is my hope that in the course of your work, you will endeavour to further enhance your knowledge and virtues, accumulate more experiences drawn from living realities, and bind your teaching activities with social life. You should always remember that after graduation, you will remain students as you will have to learn so as to heighten your virtues, and accumulate more knowledge. The teachers' training colleges and the educational branch in general must find out means to help the teachers fulfil their tasks. The more satisfactorily they are trained, the better they will serve.

IV. TO FOSTER THE PUPILS' DIGNITY, TEACHERS SHOULD RESPECT IT

The educational branch and the teachers must also give due attention to the pupils' health. On this score, we still display many shortcomings. Most obvious is the lack of hygiene and I think this is a great shortcoming. Since the restoration of peace, we have done many good things but the hygiene service still lags far behind. In the countryside many localities are still very

dirty for feeding, dwelling and the prevention of common diseases there are not paid due attention. I don't know what you think of this state of things. As for me, I consider it a shame for us all. Of course, it is due to poverty and backwardness inherited from the former regime, but it seems that headmasters and teachers do not attach enough importance to hygiene and the pupils' health, regarding it as an extra-mural subject. As a result, they do not teach children how to observe hygiene prescriptions and to take care of their health; they do not use schools as centres to apply hygiene and propagate it among the people. Headmasters and teachers should do this work better and if hygiene is well taught and applied at school, then they will, together with other branches, greatly contribute to the liquidation of backwardness mentioned above.

Another thing of which so many pupils' parents complain a great deal is that their children have to spend too much time for study and meetings and have very little left for rest. I know a teacher who talked politics at school for four or five hours on end. What result can yield such a teaching method? At present, it turns out that pupils devote much time for political work while their study is not satisfactory and their health not good. Who is responsible for these shortcomings? The educational service, the Party Committee concerned or the Labour Youth Union? I suggest the educational branch, the teachers' training colleges and all teachers to look into the problem more closely and put forth ways and means to improve the situation.

To discharge their responsibility well, teachers must entertain good relations with their pupils, and earnestly do their work; at school, order and discipline should be enforced but this does not prevent teachers and pupils to be friends. Pupils owe respect and love to their teachers, who in return should love them and treat them with regard. Though only eleven or twelve of age pupils have a sense of dignity and self-respect. To foster them we must respect them. Ill-treatment, reprimand, punishment and scolding are all wrong. On the contrary, friendship should be built up for good relations between teachers and pupils are based on it. The former must so behave as the latter find in them guides and friends. Guides ready to advise them on what in books or lessons they do not understand, and friends comprehending what they feel or think about. Relations between teachers and pupils are nothing else than those between friends. Teaching, better than any other profession, makes friends, and renders the life of those who practise it most prolific in feelings. Therefore, it is a very fine and noble profession. For teachers, not to love their profession means not to love man. The more they love man, the better they love their profession. The formation of man involves ideological struggle, a struggle waged to do away with the old and the bad and to build up the new and the good. These two aspects are closely linked with each other. But the main teaching method is to know how to foster virtues. Teachers' tasks are similar to gardeners', they should be carried out carefully, minutely, patiently and cautiously. Pupils' wrong feelings will gradually disappear as their virtues and sound feelings are cultivated.

It is like the germ of paddy. If we take proper care, it develops strongly enough to break the husk. If, on the contrary, we try to break the husk, we harm the germ and it will grow into a stunted plant. Teachers have to sympathize with their pupils to remould them; they have to teach them not with the help of reason alone but feelings, too.

The training of the younger generation is the work of the Party, for which the entire people and society are responsible, but the main part is to be played by schools. Only when they are well trained at school can children become good men in society. Our country is advancing to socialism, without going through capitalist development, therefore individualism is not deep-rooted in our people's feelings and way of thinking. Quite the reverse, they are by nature very humanitarian, they love their fellow creatures and their native land. If the educational branch can train good teachers and if teaching at school is bettered, we can hope that a new generation will emerge, mastering knowledge and culture along socialist and communist lines, and having the soul and style particular to the Vietnamese.

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To free our country from poverty and backwardness is a difficult work, however, we can manage to make rapid progress, to build the material and technical bases of socialism and with these guarantee to our people sufficient food and clothing and study. We do

not in the least belittle the improvement of livelihood, but we must pay particular attention to the formation of new men, men with socialist consciousness. The Party and the people pin their hope on teachers and expect them to fulfil their glorious mission — the formation of a new generation in order to build socialism. To this end, teachers must unceasingly train themselves to set to their pupils shining examples in all respects.

V. WE ARE RIGHTLY PROUD OF OUR FAR-REACHING PROGRESS IN EDUCATIONAL WORK

As I do not understand your profession very well, today I only expound some of my views for your consideration. I hope that at this social you will fully assess the strong points in educational work to promote them and profoundly realize the shortcomings to redress them and help the educational branch make still greater progress and become more worthy of its position in the ideological and cultural revolution. I hope that you will make efforts to raise your professional capacity and accumulate more experiences.

Wherever you teach, you should have close relations with local Party committees and mass organizations to make our educational work advance unceasingly. Up to now, Party committees at various levels have not clearly realized its importance. With closer relations, educational work will be certainly improved, schools will increase their effectiveness in national construction

and the raising of the people's living standard. We are rightly proud that our educational work has made big strides. We now use our mother tongue in education, this is one of the most basic conditions for its development.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I thank you for having fulfilled your tasks towards our children, and wish you, both lecturers and students who will be graduated shortly, still greater successes in your work, a glorious work that the Party and the people have entrusted to you.

THE TASKS OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN NORTH VIET NAM AND SCIENTIFIC WORK *

I

THE TASKS OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN NORTH VIET NAM

To lead revolution our Party does not start from subjective aspirations, but from a scientific theoretical basis reflecting the objective laws of development of nature and society.

Indeed, over the last thirty years, the Marxist-Leninist scientific theory, which represents the most advanced scientific achievements of mankind, has always served as the compass for every action of our Party and the torch illuminating the path of the revolution in our country.

By grasping Marxism-Leninism and creatively applying it to the practice of our revolution, our Party has

* Article written on the occasion of the 30th founding anniversary of the Party (February 3, 1960).

recorded great victories. Marxism-Leninism helps us analyse the characteristics of our society and its class contradictions, and work out correct revolutionary lines, guiding principles and tactics. The success of the August Revolution and the victory of the Resistance War were due to our Party's scientific handling of such fundamental problems of the Vietnamese people's national-democratic revolution as the relationship between the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks, the working class' leading role, the peasant question, the worker-peasant alliance and the national united front, insurrection to wrest power, armed struggle, the building of the people's power and people's army, international solidarity, etc.

The glorious triumph of the Vietnamese revolution proves the universal and scientific character of Marxism-Leninism and our Party's ability to master scientific knowledge.

After the restoration of peace, North Viet Nam has shifted to the socialist revolutionary stage, although, at the beginning, we had to achieve part to the remaining tasks of the people's national-democratic revolution, chiefly land reform. The task of our Party and people in the North is to do their utmost to bring North Viet Nam to socialism, carry on the struggle for national reunification, and complete the national-democratic revolution throughout the country.

Socialist revolution is the greatest, the most profound and thorough revolution in history. Its tasks consist not only in liberating our country from the exploitation of man by man, but also in turning our backward

agricultural country into one endowed with modern history, modern agriculture, and advanced culture and science. It has not only to lead the people in the North to a new, well-off and happy life, but also to make it a strong base for the struggle for national reunification.

Socialist revolution sets to our Party and people new tasks and engenders new contradictions to study and solve. What are now the main contradictions in the socialist revolution in North Viet Nam and the ways to settle them?

We all know that thanks to our Party's sole leadership in the people's national-democratic revolution, to the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance under the Party's guidance and of the people's power set up after the August Revolution, thanks to the increasing might of the world socialist system, after the restoration of peace we have favourable conditions peacefully to shift to a new revolutionary stage, bypassing the stage of capitalist development to advance directly to socialism.

The fundamental contradiction throughout the transitional period in our country is the contradiction between the capitalist path and the socialist path. To solve it is to tackle the problem as to "who will win" between capitalism and socialism and, simultaneously, the problem of bringing our backward agricultural country to a prosperous and strong socialist one.

But owing to the specific conditions of our country this contradiction takes on different forms in each period.

At the beginning of the transitional period, when the contradiction between our people and the imperialists and feudalists in the North has been basically solved, another main one crops up in North Viet Nam's society: *the contradiction between the advanced State power and political regime on the one hand, and the backward social relations, the antiquated relations of production on the other.* As we carry on socialist revolution with the people's democratic power (in essence the proletarian dictatorship) firm in hand we need not stage an armed uprising to overthrow the ruling power and build up a new one. Ours is among the most progressive regimes ever known in history. It is the main tool wielded by the working class and the toiling people to transform a backward economy and establish a new one.

Our political system is a people's democracy led by the working class, based on the worker-peasant alliance. It is a socialist system, the most advanced in the world today.

But this progressive State power and political regime has not yet a firm economic mainstay. After land reform the bulk of the agricultural economy is based on small and scattered production and to a certain extent, beset with a spontaneous tendency to capitalism. The feudal land ownership is not yet completely wiped out in the mountain regions. The capitalist relations of production still in force are creating many difficulties to our economic guidance. Imperialist and feudal social vestiges are not yet swept away.

In such a situation, without concentrating our efforts on solving the above main contradiction in North

Viet Nam's society, we shall not be in a position to push it and its economy ahead.

The method to handle this contradiction is to carry out socialist transformation, turning the peasants' and handicraftsmen's small production economy and the capitalist economy into a socialist one. This is also the way to solve the contradiction between the capitalist path and the socialist path in North Viet Nam.

In grappling with socialist transformation we must rely on the ever-stronger people's democratic power and the continuous development of the State economy which plays the leading role in the whole national economy.

The 14th Party Central Committee session decided that: "Our present fundamental task in North Viet Nam is to speed up socialist revolution, with stress on the socialist transformation of the peasants' and handicraftsmen's individual economy, and that of the private capitalist economy, while striving to develop the State economy which constitutes the leading force of the whole national economy. When carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction we must resolutely smash all the counter-revolutionaries' schemes and acts of sabotage."

Agriculture holds the most important position in our economy. Therefore, socialist transformation of agriculture must be considered the main link.

The peasants' individual economy is in contradiction with the socialist regime. In the countryside there still remain the rich peasants' economy and the spontaneous tendency to capitalism (chiefly among the

upper-middle peasants). Moreover, we have to reckon with the counter-revolutionaries' and the imperialists' henchmen's sabotage activities. These are obstacles to the socialist transformation of agriculture. But we enjoy many favourable conditions owing to the fundamental harmony of interests and aspirations between the socialist State and the poor labouring peasantry, between the working class and the labouring peasantry. The socialist State represents the interests of the toiling people whose overwhelming majority are the labouring peasantry, because not only the working class but also the toiling peasantry long for socialism. This single-mindedness accounts for the relatively smooth progress of agricultural co-operativization.

The situation is different with the national bourgeoisie. The contradiction between them on the one hand, and the working class and the other sections of the toiling people on the other, is an antagonistic one. But in our country, owing to the existence of a strong people's democratic regime, a strong State economy and the weakness of the bourgeoisie, owing to the fact that the national bourgeoisie followed the working class in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle, and that they are now willing to accept socialist transformation, this contradiction can be settled as a contradiction among the people. Through peaceful transformation we turn step by step the capitalist economy into a socialist one, and the capitalists into labouring people, thereby making their interests and aspirations after transformation gradually become one with those of the labouring people.

Harmony of economic interests as well as the political and moral single-mindedness between the State and the people, and between the various strata of the toiling people themselves, are the expression of the absolute superiority of the socialist society. This is a powerful motive force which enables socialism to progress rapidly.

In socialist economy there exist two forms of ownership: ownership by the entire people and collective ownership. They illustrate the different ways taken by the working class and the labouring peasantry to advance to socialism. The former embarks on large-scale socialist industrialization to advance to socialism, while the latter starts from individual economy and goes through co-operativization. The existence of these two forms of ownership is an objective necessity for the socialist society. Though differing from each other, they are in harmony with each other, influence and impel each other to progress.

But this harmony which forms the fundamental feature includes a non-antagonistic contradiction between the State and the people, between the various strata of the toiling people themselves, and between the two forms of socialist ownership. This contradiction stems from the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology and the vestiges of the feudal ideology which cannot be wiped out overnight; it is also due to the influence of the old society's habits, and the still vague conception of the toiling people concerning immediate and long-term interests, individual and collective interests. Bureaucratism and other weak points and shortcomings

remaining among part of our cadres and State organs can also give rise to this contradiction. It is unwise not to foresee the contradictions likely to crop up between the State and the toiling people as well as between collective interests and individual interests and the ones belonging to the entire people, in order timely to solve them correctly, to further strengthen the unity among the people and push ahead the revolution. On the other hand, if we lay a strong emphasis upon these contradictions we can commit mistakes when carrying out the Party's guiding principles and policies or provoke new ones, or embitter them whereas a settlement can be reached by negotiations among the people.

Besides these contradictions among the people antagonistic ones still exist in North Viet Nam between the enemy and ourselves. The reactionaries — agents of the American imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique — are secretly and daily undermining our socialist construction in multifarious forms. They must be duly punished.

The process of handling the contradiction between ourselves and the enemy in North Viet Nam is also one of solving the contradiction between our people on the one hand, and the imperialists and feudalists on the other on a nation-wide scale. As long as the American imperialists and their flunkies rule in South Viet Nam this contradiction still exists in the North under one form or another, therefore we must unceasingly heighten our vigilance and stand ready to thwart all their dark schemes.

After fundamentally solving the contradiction between the advanced political regime and the backward relations of production, we face a new situation with, coming to the fore, *the contradiction between the advanced socialist regime, and the backward productive forces*. In our country, which has a backward economy, this contradiction has appeared right after our embarking on socialist revolution. And the further socialist transformation is stepped up, the broader the relations of production become, the more clearly it manifests itself. It will be still more acute after socialist transformation.

According to the common law of social development, the productive forces clash with the backward relations of production which check their growth. The antiquated relations of production must be wiped out, and new ones built up, to help the development of the productive forces. But in the present specific conditions of the North of our country, the development of the productive forces lags behind that of the new relations of production.

After the basic achievement of socialist transformation, North Viet Nam is still a backward agricultural country. The percentage accounted for by industry in the national economy is still low — about 34 per cent in 1960 — and by modern industry even lower — about 10 per cent the same year. Technique, by and large, is backward. The bulk of production is still ensured by manual labour and rudimentary tools, productivity is very low, so is our cultural, scientific and technical level. We suffer from a great shortage of technicians and skilful workers. Such an economic situation does

not accord with the requirements and aspirations of our people who want rapidly to turn their country into a prosperous and strong socialist one.

To solve the main contradiction which has newly emerged in the North Vietnamese society — the contradiction between the advanced social regime and the backward productive forces — we must endeavour to develop the productive forces, and build up the material and technical basis of socialism. *Only by carrying out socialist industrialization simultaneously with the cultural and technical revolution can we set up this basis.*

Socialist industrialization is the process of transforming our backward agricultural country into a socialist one endowed with a modern industry, a modern agriculture and an advanced culture and science. During this process *we must take heavy industry as a foundation, give priority to its development and boost agriculture and light industry.* V. Lenin taught us that the material basis for socialism cannot be anything else than a large-scale mechanized industry capable of reorganizing agriculture.

Only by promoting heavy industry, first of all the engineering industry, can we provide modern technical means to the various lines of our national economy to re-equip them with new material and technical bases.

Only so can we gradually replace manual labour by mechanized labour, liberate the productive forces, rapidly raise productivity, and on this basis, improve the people's living conditions, accumulate fund for the State and secure enlarged reproduction for the society.

Only so can we supply agriculture with machines, improved farm implements, fertilizers, insecticides, etc. and solve the hydraulic problem, to make it develop strongly, thereby raising the position and leading role of the working class towards the peasantry, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance and strengthening the basis of the people's democratic power.

Only by promoting heavy industry can we exploit the abundant natural resources of our midlands and highlands, wipe out the economically and culturally backward situation of the regions inhabited by the national minorities and consolidate solidarity between the nationalities in Viet Nam. The exploitation of these areas also helps us solve the problem of redundant labour in the plains.

Only by promoting heavy industry can we strengthen our national defence potential and preserve our independence and unity.

Heavy industry holds an extremely important position in the whole national economy, and this must be asserted. As we build it in the condition of the socialist camp being a world system possessed of a highly developed heavy industry, we can profit by the assistance of and the co-operation with, the fraternal socialist countries *rapidly to build up an adequate heavy industry for our economy*, and to develop the branches that we have the greatest possibility and the best condition to do so, with a view to satisfying our people's requirements in food, clothing and dwelling, and contributing to the international co-operation within the socialist camp.

Now in Viet Nam, agriculture plays a role of great consequence in socialist industrialization. Failing to impel it, we cannot establish the necessary basis for the advancement of industry, for agriculture is the supplier of food and raw materials, the market for manufactured goods and an important source of fund accumulation for industrialization. Ours being the only socialist country in the tropical zone, we must do our best to develop agriculture in order to contribute to international co-operation and exchange tropical agricultural produce for the equipment we need in industrialization. Agriculture is also the supplier of staple consumer goods; we must make every effort to promote it and use all the latent capabilities to raise the low living standard of our people.

In the whole national economy, industry plays a decisive role to push ahead all the other branches. But industry and agriculture cannot develop independently, both should be closely co-ordinated. Without relying on agriculture, industry cannot possibly be speeded up and inversely. Therefore, *during the process of socialist industrialization with priority being given to the promotion of heavy industry, utmost attention should be paid to agriculture.*

While carrying out socialist industrialization and giving priority to the development of heavy industry we must not neglect our task regarding the cultural and technological revolution. Industrialization will offer the possibility of supplying our various economic branches with new equipment. This cannot be used properly if we do not raise the people's cultural and

technical level and train a large contingent of technicians and skilful workers.

Ours was a semi-feudal and a colonial country, which accounts for our people's low cultural, scientific and technical level. This is now a great obstacle to socialist construction.

Over the recent years, the fraternal socialist countries have helped us build a number of modern enterprises but the low technical level of our cadres and workers seriously restricts their productivity. At present, in the building of various works and enterprises, from planning, guidance in execution, assembling of machines to the settlement of technical problems in production we largely rely on the assistance of specialists from socialist countries. Our country abounds in natural resources but until now our limited basic and synthetic research work does not allow us to know them all.

In the process of socialist construction our urban and rural areas have undergone gradual change for the better, the people's living conditions improved step by step, while the requirements of the cultural, educational and medical branches are on the increase. We must endeavour to develop education, science, literature and art, medicine, physical culture and sports, etc. in order to guarantee to our people a radiant and healthy cultural life. This is part and parcel of socialist construction.

In the specific condition of our country, we should not wait until the economic revolution is basically achieved to start cultural and technological revolution.

Instead, the latter should be pushed ahead simultaneously with the former to create favourable conditions for a rapid economic development. Of course, we must grasp firmly the working class' ideology and rely on the Marxist-Leninist theoretical basis, to go in the right direction when carrying out the cultural and technological revolution.

In brief, during the transitional period to socialism in North Viet Nam, to solve the fundamental contradiction between the capitalist and the socialist paths and to bring our backward agricultural country to socialism without passing by capitalist development, we must successively grapple with the two following main contradictions:

1. The contradiction between the advanced State power and political system on the one hand and the backward social relations and relations of production on the other; and

2. The contradiction between the advanced social system and the backward productive forces.

The settlement of these two contradictions requires that *the task of our whole Party and people in North Viet Nam at present should be to continue socialist transformation, strive to consolidate the socialist relations of production which have already taken shape, at the same time boosting socialist industrialization, speeding up cultural and technological revolution and rapidly turning our backward agricultural country into a socialist one endowed with modern industry, modern agriculture and advanced culture and science.*

II

THE PARTY'S TASKS ON SCIENTIFIC WORK

The general situation as is described above points out the importance of science, and the great requirements incumbent upon it.

Under socialism science is a tool, a lever used by the proletariat and the toiling people to transform nature and society and to push the latter forward. It must be put under the Party's leadership. Therefore, the Party's general tasks embrace the tasks of scientific work.

Clearly enough, the fulfilment of the Party's immediate tasks such as to continue transforming the old relations of production, to build up and consolidate new ones, speed up socialist industrialization, push forward the cultural and technological revolution, cannot be alienated from the furtherance of scientific work in both natural and social science.

Our backward agricultural country advances to socialism bypassing the stage of capitalist development; socialist transformation and construction in North Viet Nam begin after the formation of the world socialist system, and in the condition of our country being temporarily partitioned in two zones. It is no easy thing to integrate the general principles of socialist construction and our national characteristics in order to find out appropriate forms, methods, steps and tempo. Science, particularly social science, must help us study and solve all these problems.

The further we engage in socialist construction, the more important the role of natural science, first of all

technology. Natural science and technology are the synthesis of experiences in man's struggle to conquer nature and develop production over generations. Closely linked to production it promotes its development. It helps improve the techniques of production, modernize equipment, raise the labourers' technical level and experiences in production, apply new methods for the organization and management of labour to ceaselessly increase labour productivity which, according to V. Lenin, is the most important and the fundamental factor for the success of the new socialist regime.

To liberate our labour force and gradually replace manual labour by mechanized labour, *we must set great store by natural science and technology, make it get ever-closer to, and serve more efficiently, agricultural and industrial production, communications and transport, capital construction, as well as the strengthening of national defence and the people's health.*

We all are aware of our low level in science and technology. We must, in a short historical period endeavour to make our science keep pace with that of the advanced countries in the world, to do away with our country's backwardness. This is an extremely heavy but most glorious task of our Party and people, and of our scientific workers.

In view of the great importance of science and technology, our Party's urgent task is to master it and further strengthen its leadership over scientific and technological work. At present, unless our Party committees at all levels and Party members study it earnestly they cannot lead it aptly. As the majority of

our Party and State cadres have been tempered in the revolution and Resistance War, and have accumulated some knowledge of political and armed struggle, their class standpoint and ideological level have been raised a step further. But in face of the new requirements of the revolution our knowledge proves inadequate in many domains. Now that our main work is economic transformation and construction and development of production, our cadres' scientific and technological knowledge necessary for the direction of economic and production work is very insufficient.

The new situation and new task it commands requires a great change in thinking within the Party, so that the entire Party correctly realizes the importance of science and technology, resolutely concentrates efforts on mastering it to lead socialist transformation.

Recently, a change for the better has taken place in our Party. Party committees at all levels and Party leading cadres have paid due attention to economic leadership, co-ordinating it with political and ideological leadership. Many cadres have realized the necessity of enhancing their cultural, scientific and technological abilities to improve their leadership. But not few comrades still content themselves with political leadership in a general way, unwilling to toil and moil on the study of professional matters, science and technology. A number of political cadres still regard scientific and technical work as the business of scientific specialists or shrink from difficulties and lack determination to learn and master science and technology. Those are wrong views.

In our country, all specialized branches are under the Party's leadership. To materialize this, Party cadres in every branch must grasp the science they deal with in their work to become good in both political thinking and scientific knowledge. Of course, studying science and technology does not go without difficulties for our cadres, especially because of their low cultural level. But for us, communists, possessed of a revolutionary determination, are there any difficulties that cannot be overcome, any fortresses that cannot be conquered? If we do not study to master science and technology we shall lag behind social development and become unequal to the tasks entrusted by the Party.

The speeding up of the development of science and technology requires a large contingent of scientific and technical cadres. Few as they are now, they cannot satisfy the ever-increasing demands of scientific research and activities. Therefore, simultaneously with the fostering of the existing cadres, we must urgently train new ones. As they form a valuable asset of the Party and the State, we must look after them, see to their progress, bring them into close touch with the Party and the masses, and keep them abreast of our social realities and productive activities. Attention must be paid to supplying them with what they need in scientific research and to creating favourable conditions so that they may have time to go deeper into it and develop their abilities to serve the revolution.

A number of scientific cadres trained under the old regime are still influenced by the bourgeois ideology—individualism, science for science's sake, science alienated from politics, from practice, etc. We must help

them get rid of these manifestations of the bourgeois ideology and make a larger contribution to socialist construction.

In our country, the formation of new scientific cadres from among workers, peasants and the best elements of other classes that are absolutely loyal to socialism and possessed of fairly solid scientific knowledge, assumes a particular importance. We must use widely different methods and measures to train as many of them as possible: opening of more schools at home and sending of students to the socialist countries for study, apprenticeship and research, intra-mural and extra-mural training, etc. Over the recent years, stress has been laid on the formation of scientific cadres, but shortcomings are still many. Adequate attention must be paid from now on.

Simultaneously, *a strong mass revolutionary movement to conquer science and technology must be created.* Science and technology originate from production. Frederick Engels said that even at the outset the existence and the development of science and technology have been determined by production. The main task of science is to serve production. The toiling people, who take a direct part in production, have accumulated rich experiences. We must bring science to the masses and sum up and enhance their experiences, thus making them grasp science and technology to speed up production. At present a seething movement for the study of technology and technical improvement is taking shape among our people. We must strengthen our leadership so that this movement may penetrate deep into the masses and spread far and wide. We must help the

Association for the Dissemination of Science and Technique develop its activities more strongly to raise the masses' scientific knowledge. Scientific work just as other can score good results only when conducted according to the mass line. Science develops rapidly so long as it has become the property of the broad masses of the people.

To promote scientific work, the Party must *strengthen its leadership over scientific research bodies and those in charge of them.*

There now exist the State Scientific Committee for the whole country and technical committees helping Party Committees at all levels to guide scientific and technical work in their respective areas. Attached to the State Scientific Committee are various research institutes, the scientific and technical research bodies of the Ministries and Colleges, too, constitute important scientific research bases. Moreover, industrial enterprises and agricultural co-operatives have their own technical teams or groups. There must be a distribution of work, close co-ordination and co-operation between all these bodies. Scientific research has to be carried out by a large collectivity and many differing branches. It is necessary to guard against departmentalism and parochialism which make one care about oneself without co-operating with others. The Party must strengthen its leadership over scientific research bodies, give them cadres, material means, technical equipment, etc., and help them do more practical work.

To this end an adequate plan for research work is required. At present, we have a two-year plan and

are preparing for a five-year one. In the main it fits with the State plan for economic and cultural development. This is a good thing. But we have to think of a perspective plan setting the goal to attain to keep pace with the scientific and technical level of advanced countries in the world in a given historical period.

In the branches of social science utmost attention must be paid to *political economy* because it responds to our immediate requirements in economic construction and transformation. We should not, however, underrate the other branches—literature, history, philosophy, etc.—which play also an important role.

In natural science, *great importance must be attached to the branches of practical science* which directly serve industry, agriculture, communications and transport, capital construction, national defence, public health, etc. We must also *pay due attention to basic science* for they form the theoretical foundation of other sciences.

If we want our science to progress rapidly, we must *endeavour to learn the experiences of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union*, the first country in the world concerning scientific development.

A comprehensive plan should be actively set up to encourage scientific cadres to devote themselves to study. Only by learning after the socialist countries' experiences, can we, in a relatively short historical period, catch up with the scientific level of the advanced countries. Of course, when studying those experiences, we must always think of the realities of our country—a tropical one. We should carefully study

the problems set to science by the tropical zone to solve them adequately.

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The foregoing are the Party's immediate tasks on scientific work. Of course they are others. But, the most important question is that the whole Party should be determined to grasp science in order to lead socialist transformation and construction. Cadres and Party members must clearly realize the importance of science and technology and devote themselves to scientific and technical study and research, so as to rapidly do away with the backwardness of our country and turn it into one endowed not only with a vanguard political regime but also a modern economy, and an advanced culture and science.

THE YOUTH ARE THE MAINSTAY OF THE REVOLUTION*

Dear comrades,

Dear representatives of the youth and Labour Youth Union,

First of all, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, I wish to extend you my warmest greetings. At the opening session, I have heard the report of the Union Central Committee which gave a clear account of the splendid achievements scored by the Union. I hail your successes. Union members can be proud of being heroic and loyal sons of the people, the right hand of the Party. This is due to the fact that you have upheld your glorious traditions.

This morning, you have heard Uncle Ho. Long ago, he founded the Revolutionary Youth Association, the predecessor of the Indochinese Communist Party. With the founding of the Party over thirty years ago, a revolutionary movement emerged and since then the

* Talk at the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Labour Youth Union, March 1961.

struggle of our people and Party has also been the struggle of the valiant Vietnamese youth. You still remember, I am sure, that in 1930, most of the comrades in the Central, zone and provincial committees and primary branches were youths only from eighteen to twenty or twenty-one years of age. That young generation enthusiastically took part in revolutionary activities and set up the first revolutionary bases of our country in the 1930-1931 movement which culminated in the Nghe Tinh insurrection, the 1936-1940 and 1940-1945 movements, the August Revolution, the nine years of the sacred Resistance War and the six years of economic and cultural rehabilitation, transformation and development. In each of these revolutionary periods we notice that those who shouldered the heaviest yet most glorious responsibilities were mostly young people.

Today, when recalling these historical facts, I do not mean that the role of the youth is not important at all now that older comrades hold important posts in government bodies. Indeed, like their elder comrades, young people now must have a high sense of responsibility towards the people and the Party. They should clearly realize their historical role. Revolution is something very great and difficult which, moreover, constantly changes and develops. Without the active participation of the youth, ardent and receptive to new ideas to translate them into reality, revolution cannot make rapid progress. Thus, young people must form not only a shock brigade but also the mainstay of the revolution.

I. ALL FOR PRODUCTION, ALL FOR SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION

Dear comrades,

According to the resolution of the Third Party Congress, the two strategic tasks now facing us are the building of socialism in the North and the liberation of the South and the achievement of peaceful national reunification.

As our country is temporarily divided into two zones with different economic, political and social systems, there are, temporarily, two different laws of development, two different revolutionary tasks for the two zones. However, our people being one nation, we have responsibilities towards both zones. Therefore, these two tasks are tightly connected and we should not separate one from the other nor overlook either of them.

As you are taking a direct part in building socialism in the North, I am going to dwell on the revolutionary tasks of the North. It does not at all mean that we slight our duty towards the revolution in the South. At present, in the North we have basically completed socialist transformation and are beginning to build socialism as the central task while completing socialist transformation. The Third Party Congress has made it clear that we must lay the material and technical basis of socialism, carry out socialist industrialization. That is the central task in the whole period of transition to socialism in the North of our country. As many comrades have not yet fully grasped the significance, content

and development of socialist industrialization, I should like to make some elucidations.

First of all, let us realize that we are not advancing towards socialism from a large-scale capitalist production but from a small, backward agricultural economy. If we fail to understand this characteristic, we won't be able to visualize the development of socialist industrialization and socialist revolution in Viet Nam. What does socialist industrialization mean?

It means to supply agriculture, industry, communications, transport, etc., with an up-to-date technical basis. In our present economy mainly based on agriculture and handicraft, only 50 per cent of the production are ensured by machines and the rest by hand. Socialist industrialization aims at turning these 80 per cent of manual labour into mechanized labour and at transforming our backward agricultural country into a socialist one with a modern industry and agriculture, an advanced culture and science.

Some comrades in the countryside think that industrialization can be achieved only in factories. They fail to see that it serves agriculture itself. It takes a 15 h.p. ploughing-machine one day to plough three and a half hectares. But if we use draught animals, it takes more than 30 men. Thus, with a ploughing-machine we need only one man, the rest can do other work to increase material values for the society. To this end, there must be heavy industry, the key-branch of which is engineering. Only on this basis can we turn our small production into a large-scale production, handicraft

workers into industrial workers, and realize "mechanization and electrification", the motto of socialist industrialization.

After three years of economic transformation, we have established in the North advanced relations of production — socialist relations of production with two main forms of ownership: State-ownership and collective ownership. We have basically done away with the exploitation of man by man, yet the material and technical basis remains backward. We still mainly rely on manual labour, that is the sharpest contradiction which prevents our socialist relations of production from being firmly established, economy and culture from developing quickly and vigorously. Without large-scale industry, it will be very hard to consolidate and improve our new relations of production. That is why the Labour Youth Union's motto is to turn our backward and small production into an advanced, large-scale production, and to mechanize most of the production process within ten or fifteen years. This is the target of the entire people but it must be achieved first and foremost by the glorious Labour Youth Union.

To attain this goal, we must rely on our agricultural economy. Of course, we can be partly dependent on the large-scale industries of the fraternal socialist countries, but we must rely mainly on our own efforts, our own agriculture. There is no other choice, no other alternative. Consequently, agriculture occupies a very important place and forms the basis of socialist industrialization.

At present, 85% per cent of peasant households have joined low-level agricultural co-operatives. We shall merge small co-ops into larger ones with 150 to 200 households, turn low-level co-ops into high-level ones which must and can be completed within some years. Unless we have large agricultural co-operatives, we shall not be able to liberate and promote the productive forces, strongly push ahead the development of agriculture, create favourable conditions to achieve mechanization and radically change the agricultural character of our country.

The youth in factories, State farms, and co-ops assume equally important responsibilities in socialist industrialization. Socialist industrialization is a great work indeed. Both young workers and peasants constitute a great force. They should not underestimate each other's role. Short of such understanding there will emerge the tendency towards preferring the towns to the countryside. And if everybody likes to live in towns, the building of our country into a socialist one with a modern industry and agriculture will be inconceivable.

When we say agriculture is the basis of our economy, we have in mind not only the land, but chiefly the manpower. It is necessary therefore to instil revolutionary enthusiasm in the peasants if we want industry to develop smoothly.

Some comrades in rural areas think wrongly that industrialization will make the peasants' life more difficult. Such an erroneous view springs from the failure to realize what socialist industrialization will bring about, that it helps improve the people's living

conditions, supplies up-to-date equipment and liberates manpower in the countryside. There are about 7,000,000 labouring people there. With an average of three *sao* * per capita life is extremely hard. We must strive so that there will be half a *mau* ** per capita, and about four million farm-hands whose labour productivity will be twice or three times higher than it is at present. The remaining three million will take part in industrial production and in the making of means of production and consumer goods. Only by doing so can we end the peasants' present hardships, and give them adequate food and clothing and a comfortable life.

Socialist industrialization requires accumulation of fund. How then can accumulation be effected? We are facing difficulties on this score: our backward agricultural economy yields just enough to make both ends meet and little can be saved for accumulation capital.

For instance, to build the Thai Nguyen iron and steel complex, we must earmark 600 million *dong* ***, the value of a summer crop in the North or five years' income of our present industry. The annual output of the iron and steel complex is between 300,000 and 400,000 tons but industrialization needs millions of tons and a great many large factories. Therefore, accumulation is an urgent need, especially in our present work conditions. Hence, great devotion, a high sacrificing spirit is expected of every youth. You are aware,

* One *sao*: 360 square metres.

** One *mau*: 3,600 square metres.

*** DRV currency unit.

I am sure, that the Bac Hung Hai water conservancy project cost us 7 million *dong*. If 7 million peasants put by one *dong* per month, i.e., a little more than three *xu* a day, we shall have enough capital for two Bac Hung Hai projects in a year. With two conservancy projects of the Bac Hung Hai size, how much good will be done to our agriculture! Such is the way to accumulate capital for industrialization. To boost production so as to have adequate food and clothing and on that basis, every one will practise economy as best he can for accumulation and industrialization, is the only right course beneficial to the people's living standards, and to our children's in future as well. By any means does it make life harder for the people. With our backward agricultural and handicraft economy, should we spend all that we earn or more than we earn, we would not only lead a poverty-stricken life but things may get still worse for us. We do not want to relapse into poverty. We want to be well-off. The entire people and the youth first and foremost must be aware of this and struggle hard with a self-sacrificing spirit to actively accumulate more fund for socialist industrialization.

In the Resistance War*, we had a motto: All for the resistance for national salvation. Thousands of young men volunteered to join up and fight the enemy in defiance of hardships and sacrifices, which zeal was at the bottom of our victory over the French and American imperialists. Our present glorious days are due to the sacrifices of these young volunteers. In this

* Against the French colonialists (1945-1954).

period of socialist construction, industrialization, the youth should not flinch from difficulties. On the contrary, they should work all the harder for the prosperity of our country. Now "All for production, all for industrialization" must be the motto of young people in the North.

We shall surely achieve industrialization.

Another important matter bearing upon our socialist industrialization is our poor scientific and technical standards. We are not able to handle satisfactorily some of the machines supplied by our fraternal countries, operating them at about 50 per cent of their designed capacity only, which constitutes a waste of one half of their efficiency. So, youth must consider it their duty to master science and technique. If we want to set up a modern industry and agriculture to build socialism, we have to conquer science and technique. This is a hard work, as hard as producing material values. But we must do it, be ready to undergo hardships and overcome difficulties to grasp science and technique in order to fulfil a glorious task: socialist industrialization.

Another matter about which some of our comrades have no clear understanding is whether manual labour is important. We can say that it is very important. For without manual labour, it would be impossible to build socialism. At present and for years to come, without manual labour, society cannot exist. But while holding that manual labour is valuable, we should not underrate brain labour. Some comrades loath to learn argue that "manual labour is valuable" and slight the importance of

studying science and technique. This is an erroneous view. Manual labour is the basis of production. But the deeper the manual workers' scientific and technical knowledge, the greater will be their possibility of alleviating the strain of manual labour, of promoting production, and the firmer our position as masters of society and nature. That is why we must thoroughly understand the importance of manual and brain labour, the close relationship between them and treat them properly.

Recently, as we are faced with economic difficulties, some comrades query: why is life still hard after six years of socialist construction? All of us know that we suffered a crop failure last year and ran short of about one million tons of paddy. The annual production averages five million, which is enough to feed sixteen million people living in the North. The paddy deficit means that the usual ration of 3,000,000 people cannot be supplied. The crop failed partly because of the drought but mainly because of unfavourable weather, an untimely cold spell, water-logging, etc. Our poor technical standard cannot help us conquer nature as yet. The crop failure has somewhat reduced our ration to eight-tenths of what it was. Some other comrades query: why is there such a state of things after six years of socialist construction? These comrades do not understand that the crop failure was precisely due to the fact that industrialization has not been achieved. But the situation differs from what it was under foreign rule in that nobody is starving because of the crop failure which results only in a temporary reduction of the food ration.

Apparently, this cut seems to be abnormal under socialism, but if carefully analysed, it shows the superiority of our socialist system. Now, everybody is willing to reduce his food ration to avoid the recurrence of famine as in 1945 when two million people died of starvation. We are still hard-up. Yet one thing is certain: destitution and starvation are things of the past and our living conditions improve with every passing day.

Production is our glorious task, our main battle-front. What does it aim at? Supplying us with food, clothing, houses and schools. Failure to realize this aim would not arouse enthusiasm among the producers. We must take long-range views and make it plain to everybody that he is working for himself and his countrymen. We must pay due attention to raising the living standard of our people and our youth, and to enlarging production as well. We should not fail either to understand that production serves both consumption and reproduction on a larger scale, which form two aspects of one problem. The continual development of production will bring about better living standards every day. But, given our undeveloped production, they can only improve gradually, and the achievement of socialist industrialization alone can lead to a leap in our living conditions. That our crop may fail, our living may meet with temporary difficulties owing to our backward agriculture, is only a matter of course. That is why the Youth Labour Union members, the masters of our future society, must accomplish their duties with a self-sacrificing spirit, take an active part in production and practise thrift.

II. THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE LIVING STANDARD IS AN IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE OF THE REVOLUTION

We have to fulfil two important tasks: ideological education and improvement of the living conditions of the people and the youth.

Our people still live in want. The youth, especially the rural youth is still living a hard life. What then have we to do to further raise their living standard?

At present, apart from the land pooled into co-operatives, each household keeps a plot of land for itself. After eight to nine hours of work in his co-op, each member has time to do other things to improve his livelihood. The Party has set for itself the task of raising the living standard in the countryside to that of the upper-middle peasants after the first Five-Year Plan. That is an ambitious target which must and can be attained. The Dai Phong co-operative has proved that this is feasible. Right now, every youth must work out a plan himself and execute it zealously, urgently and with creative and workable ways.

Every family can rear half a dozen hens, which lay eggs every day, tend a vegetable garden with a score banana-trees, some papaw-trees and also dig a small pond to rear fish. Moreover, many can breed pigs or go in for other by-trades. With our own efforts and together with the co-ops guaranteeing our food and other sources of income, we are in a position to improve gradually our living standard. The job will take one or two years to reach the standard of upper-middle

peasants, instead of five if we strive hard. Unworkable in urban centres such an undertaking is quite feasible in rural areas. The situation described above shows such a possibility provided we do our best. The youth must take the lead and propagate their experiences with a view to a widespread movement towards this end all over the country. In factories they have earnestly to see to the betterment of their own living conditions. There are no large towns in Viet Nam. The towns and industrial centres under construction themselves have their own rural areas. There should be close co-operation, definite division of responsibilities and mutual help among young people in factories and in agricultural co-ops in growing vegetables, rearing poultry. They should make the most of the available facilities, create favourable conditions, rather than passively rely on others' help or shrink from difficulties. During my visit to Hongai, I found that there was still much waste land, that our sea was teeming with fish, yet our boys and girls did not think of using their spare-time and the facilities available to do something likely to improve their livelihood. I met comrade Nguyen Thi Con with whom I had an exchange of views on the living conditions of the young people in her factory. Physically weak, she was put in charge of many machines. How can she preserve her health to serve production? Health preservation is a question to which we must pay attention and, therefore, consider the problem of food supplies. For example, it would be a very good thing to provide our workers with soya-milk after work. That we can do because we have land for soya and sugar-cane cultivation.

We must also think of food-processing. Boiled sweet potatoes, for example, are not much to our taste. But won't we have a more tasty and nutritive broth if we stew them with fish which we have in plenty?

In short, the youth should grasp the importance attached by the Party to the improvement of the people's livelihood, and set a good example by seeking and applying the best ways and means to raise it to that of the upper-middle peasants within one or two years, instead of five. This work will assume a great significance, both economically and politically. For the struggle for the people's livelihood is part and parcel of the communists' ideal. Where there is revolution, there must be an end to poverty. That is the substance of all revolutions. Studying and talking politics in a general way is not enough. A Labour Youth Union member who witnesses the destitution of his neighbour without concern, without feeling indignant with the enemy who is at the bottom of it, is not a true revolutionary-minded youth.

III. THE YOUTH IS A PROP FOR OUR NATIONAL REUNIFICATION STRUGGLE

Production, however, is not everything. As our country still remains divided, the U.S. - Diem clique are persecuting our people and youth in the South. They are preparing for war and directing their agents secretly to undermine our socialist construction in the

North. The whole Party and people assume another important task, which they should never forget, and that is to defend the Fatherland, production and peace. While taking part in production, our young people must nurture bitter hatred for the U.S.-Diem clique, heighten their vigilance and stand ready to fight. In the Army they are training day and night to safeguard the security of our country. The Party, the people and the youth are proud of the achievements of their heroic People's Army. I welcome the Army's youth representatives present at this Congress. Nevertheless national defence does not rest with the Army's youth only, but with the youth as a whole. We must take part in military training to contribute to the consolidation of our national defence, to the safeguarding of peace and security and to the achievement of national reunification.

You are not taking a direct part in the struggle in the South, but I would like to remind you that at this very moment hundreds of thousands of young South Vietnamese are heroically fighting against the U.S.-Diem clique. Over the last few months millions of people and young men have attended demonstrations and meetings in protest against the U.S. - Diem regime. Each time, five to ten young men are arrested, tortured, mutilated or disembowelled, but far from shrinking back they are determined to go ahead, a behaviour which does honour to our youth. The duty of young people in the North is to take an active part in production to make their best contribution to socialism in order to alleviate the pain and shorten the suffering of the South Vietnamese people and youth.

Thinking of our Southern compatriots and youth will end our worrying about the choice of a job, about whether one in a town is better than another in the countryside or not. A young communist must ponder over the sacrifices of his comrades down there to put right his erroneous thinking, prejudicial to socialist construction and the national reunification struggle, to his revolutionary mettle and feelings.

IV. STRENGTHEN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE LABOUR YOUTH UNION

Dear comrades,

In its message of greetings, the Party Central Committee has instructed you to strengthen the organizational work of the Union and its leadership on the basis of democratic centralism. Over the past few years, the work of the Union has brought about satisfactory results thanks to its members' efforts and the Union's leadership at all levels. But there still are many shortcomings. I was told of late that many Union members did not read the *Tien Phong*. That is really a big shortcoming. The leadership of the Union is exercised not only through its branches but through its journal. A journal is a very effective propaganda and organization medium. We have not made a full use of it, nor properly encouraged the youth to read it, thereby to help them understand thoroughly the ideology, the line,

directives and tasks of the Union. Every Executive Committee member, every Union member should read the *Tien Phong*. This has to become a matter of discipline for him. He who does not do so fails to fulfil an important duty, that is, to study the lines of the Union propagated by its journal. Here we can see that part of the Union work at the grass-root organizations is not satisfactorily done and that the Union has not them well in hand. The building and controlling of grass-root organizations is of great importance, because revolution is the business of the masses, the masses form the foundation, the corner-stone of the revolution. They can wage it so long as they understand what they have to do, otherwise nothing good can be done. In the emulation movement for making manure, improving farming implements and so on, we did try to consolidate the Labour Youth Union but not hard enough. At present the Union's grass-root organizations are not sufficiently strong. Provincial and district executive committees must be aware of what is being done there, and report to the Central Committee to keep it informed of the situation. Framing instructions and documents with the help of books, and not on the basis of realities, is likely to divorce leadership from the requirements of the Revolution. That is a tedious and hardly effective method. The leadership must definitely have village organizations well in hand. Responsible comrades in the villages must keep close contact with the masses. Leadership should not be exercised through speeches but through production activities, through practical actions so as to know what the people's concern and wishes are, what

difficulties they face and how to help them overcome, whether explanations are needed on one or another problem. Having village organizations well in hand we shall have the situation of the masses under control. At present, in point of leadership our greatest problem is to guide the masses in production. If in the Resistance War, fighting the enemy was our main task, now construction and production constitute our first pre-occupation. If Union executive committees at various levels do not include young men knowledgeable on production, they will prove unable to assume their responsibility just as formerly we would not have been in a position to lead the Resistance War without knowledge on military affairs. In order to lead production effectively, you must grasp our political aims: for whom do we produce? what is the purpose of our production activities? At the same time you must know how to carry out production. Neither of these two aspects of the problem can be overlooked. The failure to grasp our political aims is of course dangerous because it will lead us astray while the lack of knowledge on production and production technique, such as water-conservancy, preparation of seedlings, etc., will hamper the development of production. And so will the holding of too many meetings. That is why cadres should grasp politics, possess Marxist-Leninist ideology which is the ideology of the proletariat, and simultaneously master production technique. You must be aware that the youth is the Party's right hand, that through the intermediary of the Labour Youth Union the Party leads the youth, propagates the Party's line and policies among them, and mobilizes them for

the implementation thereof. The youth constitute the greatest productive force. The Union leadership must help the Party raise problems so far unseen. The Union must go deep into production and enhance the effectiveness of its and the Party's leadership. So, by consolidating the Union's leadership we also strengthen the Party's. The Union should adequately carry out the line and policies of the Party and help it be aware of the situation and improve its policies. It should see to it that Party committees at all levels play a worthy role in production and other tasks. More capable young men must be given office in leading bodies at all levels.

V. FORWARD TO THE BRIGHT HORIZON LYING BEFORE US

I am going to say a few words about ideological education. The Party is going to launch an ideological remoulding drive to impart to the whole Party, the entire people, including, of course, the Labour Youth Union members, the following viewpoints:

1) *The sense of being the masters of the society, the sense of socialist collectivism.* — We are now masters of our country, yet our awareness of this right of ours is still vague and superficial. We have therefore to strengthen it so that the workers, the peasants and the entire working people can display all their revolutionary mettle in national construction. The workers are not only masters of their factories, the peasants, of

their fields and co-ops, the intellectuals and students, of their offices and schools. All of them are masters of the whole country. Socialist industrialization serves not just industry but agriculture and other branches as well. The State wealth does not belong to any particular class. It is the common property of the working people. Schools and factories, for instance, are at the disposal of everybody. To bring this home to the people with a view to enhancing their sense of being masters of our community is of great importance now.

2) *All for production, all for the people.* — Everybody, every branch must be imbued with this viewpoint. Even in the army where fighting is the main job, production must be given due consideration. This viewpoint finds expression not only in the practice of thrift, but also in the efforts to seek ways and means to take part in production. That the Party's Supreme Committee in the army holds that armymen should participate in production to be partly self-sufficient in food, is perfectly correct. Every branch must grasp this viewpoint. Failing this, in some branches, some areas, we have committed a number of serious mistakes detrimental to the people's revolutionary enthusiasm and zeal in production.

3) *To be thrifty and diligent for the sake of national construction.* — Our economy being poor and backward, we have no other way than to practice thrift and display diligence to build up our country. We have to produce much and at the same time economize our wealth and labour. For example, if we want to export bananas in exchange for machines, we should consume less bananas. The same applies for other

products. Only by doing so can we procure more machines to develop production. As we lack food and clothing, we should practise thrift and avoid waste. As I said, if everybody puts by three *xu* a day, in one year we shall have enough fund to build two water-conservancy works like the Bac Hung Hai project. Without thrift and diligence we cannot build socialism and enjoy a bright future.

4) *To advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily towards socialism.* — That is the principle guiding our advance towards socialism, which our entire working people must be imbued with. Our production can proceed rapidly from dispersion to concentration and from employing manual labour in the main to mechanization. This is an objective reality. We must combat conservatism, and see new possibilities: formerly 7 million people working each for himself could hardly achieve anything of consequence; now that they are organized they can work wonders.

Our agriculture which lags behind industry does meet the requirements of industry in food, raw materials (cotton, tobacco, etc). On the other hand, industry does not keep pace with agriculture. Agricultural co-operativization has been completed. In one or two years, virtually all co-ops will become large-size and high-level ones requiring more improved implements, machines, fertilizers, etc., which so far industry has proved unable to supply in sufficient quantity. Both agriculture and industry must advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily too, so as to avoid discrepancy between the various branches of the national economy.

Those are the four viewpoints to cultivate. To this effect, we must combat all that stands on our way, without forgetting, however, that prime attention should be paid to the educational aspect. *First of all, we must combat individualism*, the main obstacle to collectivism and to the acquisition of the sense of being masters. Individualism obscures and restrains collectivism: we must resolutely oppose it. Fostering the sense of being masters of the society also implies fighting individualism. These two aspects are closely related. At the same time, we must fight all that is detrimental to the right of the people as masters. Manifestations of bureaucracy and commandism must be countered, as well as thoughts incompatible with production, embezzlement, corruption, waste, laziness, otherwise we could not cultivate the "thrift and diligence to build our fatherland" viewpoint and our viewpoint on production. The new takes shape and develops every day, every hour, but the old holds us back. Conservatism, the habit of not daring to think, to speak and to act boldly, must pitilessly be eliminated. The youth are very receptive to, and quickly aware of, the new; unfortunately, the old largely prevailing in their family life and in their environment in which they live, influences and restrains them. So, on the one hand, the youth themselves should be bold enough to carry into effect the new, and on the other hand, the Union and Party leadership must support and create favourable conditions for them to adopt what is new and drop what is outdated.

When discussing how to explain some points in the new Party's rules, for example, the definition of the

term "worker", some comrades say that a Vietnamese worker owns no other means of production than his hands. That is wrong because the Vietnamese worker in the North now is the master of the means of production. To say that a worker now owns no means of production is to see things from an old viewpoint. The Vietnamese workers in the North are not only masters of their factories and the State, but also of science and technique. Graduated engineers after five or seven years of study do not lose their quality as workers, as some comrades put it, they have simply become skilled workers with higher technological knowledge. With an old outlook it is impossible to discover the new, to see things clearly. Hence, the necessity for our youth of a self-examination to see whether they still use old ways of thinking, and in case they do, they should get rid of them to advance towards the bright horizon lying before us.

VI. LIVE, WORK, AND STUDY AS THE COMMUNISTS DO

Now, I will say a few words about living, working and studying the way communists do. Heated discussions took place among you in this subject. It was a good thing and a big problem. During the thirty years of its arduous and heroic struggle our Party has set countless examples.

As there is not much time, I am going to tell you only the story of a communist I personally knew. An

orphan, native of Hai Phong, Nguyen Van Hieu, lived with his aunt and took part in revolutionary activities since he was sixteen or seventeen. He was arrested, sentenced to life imprisonment and deported to Poulo Condore penitentiary. At the time of the French *Front Populaire* movement, he was set free and went on with his activities. In 1940, comrade Hieu, comrade Nguyen Van Cu and I shared a house. Then members of the Party Central Committee, comrade Cu and I were arrested with documents of the C.C. "You should not confess that these documents are yours," comrade Hieu said. "I'll say they are mine. You are responsible comrades of the Party. If you happened to succumb to tortures, it'd be a great loss for the Party. As for me, let them beat me to death, I won't say anything and should I die, it wouldn't be much of a loss." After several months of atrocious torturing, the imperialists could not extort anything from Hieu. Bazin, the ill-famed police boss who perfectly knew that the documents belonged to me and comrade Cu could not make comrade Hieu speak. Again we were deported to Poulo Condore. On our arrival there, we had one hundred and forty prison mates, but after some years only fifteen survived. We had no clothes and a wretched food, and were undergoing no end of corporal punishment, tortures and diseases. Comrade Hieu was down with T.B. We obtained some clothes for him. Lying in the same cell as I, he told me one day, "I am afraid it'll soon be over. I am wondering whether I can still do something good for the Party. The only thing I can do is to pass on my clothes to help you sustain your health and work for the Party." His word moved me

to tears. I declined his offer. "You don't want me to do something for the Party, do you?", he said between sobs and tears. He died the next day.

Dear comrades,

During the last minutes of his life, afflicted with disease, on the verge of losing for ever the most precious thing — life — communist Nguyen Van Hieu still thought of the Party, of what he could do for it. His life should be a bright example for all of us. I myself never cease thinking over what I have done and what I have to do for the Party. The Party's purpose is none other than to serve the working people, the youth. In the past, many of our comrades gave their lives to the Revolution, just because they wanted to build a genuinely happy life for the working people, for the younger generations, for you. That is why, today, at this Congress, I should like to remind you, cadres of the glorious Labour Youth Union, the Party's right hand, that "you must live and work for the Party". So, as I see it, the substance of the motto: "Let us live, work and study as communists do" is: Never to submit to the enemy, to stand ready for sacrifices, more sacrifices, and to do one's best for socialist construction and national reunification.

Everybody has to think to do so. In the South, young people have to confront the enemy every day. When arrested, the communists are not shot immediately but are put to torture and are even disembowelled. Yet, they do not submit. Condemned to poverty and oppressed for a long time, we now are rightly proud of being the masters of our country, capable of building it into a strong and prosperous one, and sure to fulfil the glorious task entrusted to us by the Party and the

people. Formerly each Vietnamese was master only in his own family. Now the whole North, the whole of our fatherland, is our family, and every young man among you is a master of it. That is the way we should think and make everybody think, except, of course, the exploiting classes. But if the latter accept socialist transformation and want to become working people, they too will be the master of this common family. As for you, youth of majority and minority nationalities, you must be of one mind in the building of a happy Viet Nam.

Now, I should like to say a word to the girl comrades. Due to her part in the heroic struggle against foreign aggression. Lady Trieu is our nation's glory in the history of struggle of our people in general and of our women in particular. Our people proudly hand down from one generation to another the following words:

“Let whom who wants to see climb up the mountains,

“See Lady Trieu riding an elephant without a howdah.”

Continuing and promoting the old tradition, our girl comrades, guided with solicitude by the Party, must uphold it; they must and can outdo their male counterparts and sing in chorus with them:

“Let whom who wants to see climb up the mountains,

“See Vietnamese girls build a free life.”

We should prove worthier of the historical tasks assigned to us by the Party and the people.

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